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THE ROME OF NAPOLEON.[1]

Napoleon, who enjoyed the fulfillment of so many fond hopes, cherished one dream that was never realized. He had always longed to see and to know Rome and he felt that his Empire would never be regularly established until it would include the Eternal City. Trained in Jacobin principles and imbued with the doctrine of Rousseau and the eighteenth century philosophers, from his youth he had looked upon Rome as the classic land of ancient liberty and, sharing the strange ignorance of his time as to the real condition of the republics of antiquity, had considered as the type of a free state Rome whose economic prosperity had been based on the institution of slavery. Having become Emperor, the Jacobin was mercilessly haunted by the memory of the Holy Roman German Empire and the phantoms of his illustrious predecessors, Charlemagne and Frederick Barbarossa, and acknowledged Rome as the historic capital in which throughout the Middle Ages the rulers of the universe had been crowned, the divine capital of which throughout mediaeval times the temporal vicars of Christ had taken possession. Thus, even the name of Rome fired Napoleon's imagination and when he became a father, he called his son "the King of Rome" in commemoration of the time when the heir to the Holy Roman Empire was styled "King of the Romans."

[1] M. Madelin, *La Rome de Napoléon* (Paris, Plon, 1907).

But, owing to some strange, mysterious fate, Napoleon who sped from one end of Europe to the other—victory enthroned in a saddle—never saw the Rome of which he incessantly dreamed; his gallant steed never trod the *Via Triumphalis,* although in the dazzling splendor of his triumphs he had surpassed all the ancient conquerors whose proud joy was manifest as they traversed this great highway. An invisible hand, the hand that moulds history, stayed Napoleon on the way to Rome and denied him the supreme satisfaction of showing himself in the City of the Seven Hills, as one of the "halves of God."

"The two halves of God, the Pope and the Emperor;" Hugo afterwards wrote in *Hernani.* It was Napoleon's misfortune to have wished to be *more than* the half of God, to have wronged, oppressed and imprisoned that other "half," the Pope, and, as Christ's temporal vicar, to have sought to control and usurp the functions of spiritual vicar. This error inaugurated his series of reverses. God permitted him to deprive Rome of its pope but did not allow him to appear there as emperor and also reserved to this ephemeral master of the Eternal City the consummate humiliation of learning at the very moment of his defeat that Murat, one of his creatures, was endeavoring to establish for himself in Rome a sort of personal sovereignty and that he, Napoleon, had perhaps banished the pope only that the great city might fall into the hands of a Murat, as a fragment of the booty accruing from the dismemberment of an empire.

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Such is the great lesson in the philosophy of history emanating from M. Louis Madelin's fine book: *La Rome de Napoléon.* M. Madelin is the quick-witted, brilliant lecturer whose learning and talent but recently delighted appreciative audiences in the United States. Among our young historians I know some who are quite as well informed as he but no one who is more animated, whose narrative is more vivid or, if I may so express myself, who is better skilled in the art of making manuscripts "speak." His deep erudition is never oppressive;

he introduces numerous details culled here and there, but they never encumber his recital: on the contrary, they but add to its sprightliness. M. Madelin is picturesque because he is scholarly: his colors are not superficially applied but are ingrained and the result of protracted, persevering research. Five years ago he published two volumes on the enigmatical Fouché, who was by turns Oratorian and terrorist and minister of police for Napoleon and for the Bourbons; M. Madelin's readers must ever remember Fouché's dull countenance as eminently expressive. Scarcely had the gifted author taken leave of this character when, with an historian's intuition, he foresaw the interest that would be evoked by a new subject entitled: *La Rome de Napoléon.* Prior to M. Madelin's time the relations between Pius VII and the Emperor had been frequently and carefully studied. The history of the Concordat, prepared through the efforts of the Comte d'Haussonville and Père Theiner—had, thanks to the researches of Père Rinieri and M. Boulay de la Meurthe, and to Cardinal Mathieu's book—become almost definitive at the time that this Concordat was about to be ruptured. The strife between Napoleon and Pius VII had already found in the Comte d'Haussonville an historian whom one could ill afford to ignore, and M. Welschinger, a new member of the Académie des Sciences Morales, exploited in his book *Le Pape et l'Empereur,* the latest data discovered in archives. Moreover, Père Dudon, a learned Jesuit, marvelously well versed in the history of the Napoleonic Church, began a series of articles still appearing in the *Etudes,* and which shed new light on the episcopate of that time. Then, in his turn, M. Louis Madelin concluded that it would be interesting to study that section of the history of Rome covered by the seven years during which it was under Napoleon's control and to delve into memoirs, newspapers, family documents, carols, ballads, prefectorial registers and municipal archives for accounts of French domination in the city of Rome. Thus it was that eighteen months ago there appeared, almost simultaneously, the first volumes of *Paris sous Napoléon* by M. de Lanzac de Laborie and of *La Rome de*

Napoléon by M. Louis Madelin. The two capitals of the great empire were brought vividly before us; the one into which the Grand Army marched and the other into which only a garrison entered: Paris, the capital of the imperial organism and the central point of its gigantic radiation, and Rome, which according to the Emperor's idea, was the real capital, Rome which never beheld its ephemeral master and was never seen by him. Although he was frequently absent from Paris and always absent from Rome, Napoleon's personality pervades the respective works of M. de Lanzac de Laborie and M. Madelin; though invisible he is present and the scene is filled, so to speak, with the void created by his absence.

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M. Madelin has depicted the conquest of Rome by Napoleon as lacking pomp and greatness, as being a surprise rather than a victory. On February 2, 1808, General Miollis presented himself at Rome with some troops en route for Naples and requested that the soldiers be given hospitality for the night. Before the lapse of forty-eight hours, Miollis had disarmed the Pope's soldiers, seized the post and heaped threats upon the timid officials. In a consistory held on March 16 Pius VII protested, but Miollis remained obdurate, arrested the governor of the city and organized a civic guard in Rome. The conflict increased in bitterness and intensity and on August 6 one of Miollis' officers went so far as to threaten Cardinal Pacca in the privacy of his apartments. The absent emperor grew impatient. The line of conduct that he dictated to his general was distinctly out of keeping with his usual method of conquering. It seemed as though Napoleon who craved the mastery of Rome, as elsewhere, nevertheless hesitated; it looked as if he were afraid or even rather ashamed of the victory whose delayed achievement nevertheless irritated him and as if he desired to be ruler without having first been conqueror.

"To conquer without risk is to triumph without glory," and what risk could there be in entering a struggle against a government of aged priests? Hence, after a variety of episodes, the combat resolved itself into a police attack: surely Napoleon had no reason to be proud of his conquest.

At this time there was in Rome a queer type of policeman whose name was Radet. Fifteen years previously he had distinguished himself, as lieutenant of mounted police, by trying to deliver King Louis XVI, arrested at Varennes; but had not succeeded. Had Radet saved Louis XVI the history of France might have been changed and the memory of the heroic policeman have perhaps been revered by posterity as that of a dauntless cavalier. But alas! Radet was destined for a different kind of notoriety: he who had failed to be the deliverer of the Bourbon dynasty was to become the infamous captor of the successor of St. Peter. During the night of July 9, 1809, a worthless gang of unfrocked priests, Free Masons, Jacobins, bankrupt merchants, brutal police and police-aspiring ruffians, stealthily surrounded the walls of the Quirinal with the intention of secretly scaling them, and an old valet who had been dismissed from service in the palace and was well acquainted with the interior, was to act as guide to the victors. It was with very different arms and under brighter skies that the Napoleonic forces had assailed other sovereigns of Europe. But the wall-scaling failed; the ladders fell and made so great a a noise that the Quirinal was aroused and its bells sounded an alarm. Then Radet, utterly regardless of caution, flung himself against the door of the palace and the crowd forced an entrance, invaded every place, battered in thirteen successive doors, put to flight the Swiss guards and the priests, gathered up whatever of value they could lay hands on and then, under the honorable guidance of the discharged lackey, suddenly reached the pope's chamber. Radet knocked for admittance "in the Emperor's name," then, hatchet in hand and without removing his hat, he entered. Pius VII was seated at his table holding a crucifix. Radet demanded that he renounce the temporal power and stated that he had been commissioned to carry him off. The pope was obliged to leave at once, his only companions being his breviary and Cardinal Pacca. Being allowed to bless the city of Rome he was then put into a carriage, the shutters of which were nailed and the doors carefully locked by two policemen. Napoleon had conquered and

Radet hastened to acquaint Miollis of the fact, the general himself informing the emperor that the "barricades" and "last intrenchment" behind which Pius VII had sought shelter had given way to the valiant attack. However, in his innermost heart, so meagre was Radet's esteem for the Romans who had coöperated with him in storming the Quirinal that, the blow once dealt, he turned to his officers with the order: "Now, gentlemen, dismiss the mob."

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There are visible in Rome to-day many admirable traces of the Napoleonic administration. The Pincian promenade overlooking the Eternal City and seeming to dominate even the cupola of St. Peter's, was laid out in the Gardens of Lucullus, owing to the assiduity of the Comte de Tournon to whom Napoleon had entrusted the care of his newly acquired territory. It was also this competent official who had the débris removed from around the Temple of Vespasian, the Column of the Emperor Phocas and the porticos of Antoninus and Faustina in the Forum, and who likewise had Trajan's Forum cleared. Finally, he set about draining the Pontine Marches and Napoleon was elated at the prospect of governing successfully where Leo X, Theodoric, Trajan and Augustus had failed.

Although so far away, Napoleon was tenderly fond of Rome, in fact, loved it as he did no other city and treated it with a father's partiality. His collectors were instructed not to tax the Roman State too heavily and his recruiting officers were ordered not to enroll too many conscripts from within its confines. He was eager to counteract the destructive work of the barbarians, to restore the ancient fertility of the Roman Campagna, to raise from their ruins the once magnificent temples and circuses, so that the Rome of Napoleon might vie in splendor with the Rome of Augustus. The men who represented him in Rome, like Miollis, the general, and Tournon, the prefect, were bland and courteous; they conquered the patricians with whose wives they danced, and the nieces and nephews of former Popes, readily forgetful of the exiled pontiff, will-

ingly patronized official salons to the intense gratification of the foreign element then in control.

However, Napoleon did not succeed in conquering Rome; somehow it eluded him. The multitude remained hostile to French rule and sighed for the time when the pope and priests had been in power. This exasperated the emperor who imagined that, by taking severe measures against priests and monks, he could render them amenable and abolish their prestige. In Rome only twenty parishes were left out of eighty-five and in the Roman States but five out of thirty-two bishoprics were maintained. Moreover, it was decided that, in country districts, there would be but one priest to minister to every six thousand souls, and the desired suppression of the chapters was effected by increasing the number of exiled canons. The monks, those "cowards;" those "tools of Gregory VII" spent harrowing hours. There were thirteen thousand monks and nuns in Rome and the convents were ransacked, the inmates expelled and their property put up at auction, this course being pursued that the people might see that sacerdotal government was forever abandoned. But each blow dealt the priests smote the hearts of the multitude and when it was learned that the few remaining clergy were obliged, under pain of exile or imprisonment, to bind themselves by oath, the grief of the people was augmented. As the oath was refused and in Umbria, nine bishops out of twelve were arrested, naught but contempt was felt for the weak bishop of Citta delle Pieve who cringed before the new power and to whom Radet gave the crowning insult by absurdly calling him the new Tertullian. But this bishop had established no precedent: 370 priests in Rome refused to take the oath. Must they then be expelled and Rome be deprived of worship? In this classic land of "*combinazioni*" Tournon chanced upon one: he allowed bishops and priests to inscribe in a blank, beneath the formula of the oath proposed to them, all the reservations which they saw fit to make and, under the flourish of their signatures, the signers added these decisive words: "excepting the rights of the Church and of the Holy See." Then M. de Tournon, shrewd man that he was,

took a pair of scissors and cut out this line of reservations when lo! all was in due form, the oath required by Napoleon had been signed by the priests. M. de Tournon's trick was indeed an elegant one but not very Napoleonic: however, it served as another proof of the fact that with the pope, priests and consciences in the scale against it, Napoleonic omnipotence was far outbalanced.

But these elegant expedients were short-lived and the relations between the Napoleonic State and the Roman clergy became so strained that, after a while, Church property was confiscated. The emperor thus hoped to gain 148 millions. But he was deceived, as there was but little ready money in the coffers of the clergy, and houses, fields and gardens did not sell well. Each new episode in the struggle marked an additional defeat for the Napoleonic State, and the people whom it was eventually hoped to subjugate, became more and more stubborn, more and more rebellious.

To the religious agitation of the multitude there was gradually added great physical suffering and, to increase the prevailing misery, famine set in. The Emperor's officials boasted that they had delivered the Roman people from their parsimony, that they had converted a nation of beggars into a nation of free men; but among these "free men," beggars were more numerous than ever. In 1810 there were in Rome 12,000 mendicants and in 1812, after two years of Napoleonic power, these numbered 30,000. Alas, farewell to the liberality of the banished monks! The inhabitants of Rome were urged to have recourse to "soup kitchens," organized according to the requirements of philanthropy, and then the poor patrons of these resorts were divided into brigades and brought to the Forum, there to slave at the work of digging and clearing. Rome was to be made an industrial city and the Roman Campagna was to be an agricultural district, but the people objected. Ruefully they looked toward the distant *Camp de Plaisance* where their exiled priests were huddled together and beyond the mountains where their revered pontiff, Pius VII, was imprisoned.

"Napoleon is great," said Chateaubriand later on, "for hav-

ing so ably restored, enlightened and administered Italy;" and Chateaubriand, who was never to be doubted when he spoke favorably of Napoleon, should in this instance be believed. But, despite Napoleon's greatness, Rome escaped him; notwithstanding M. de Tournon's excellent achievements and projects in behalf of the Eternal City, Rome never yielded its heart to Napoleon. It cannot be denied that certain administrative regulations and legislative maxims introduced into Rome by France, outlived French rule; in fact, even in Cardinal Consalvi's governmental principles could be detected a little of Napoleon's spirit, because Napoleon's functionaries and generals sojourned nowhere without sowing the seeds of progress. But whatever was efficacious, beneficent or legitimate in the maxims of Napoleonic government could not bear any real fruit in Rome until the pope had been reinstated. Napoleon had flattered himself that with the advent of his soldiers, "progress" had entered Rome; but the Roman people refused to accept this "progress" until the supreme pontiff had returned to preside at its development. Thus the history of Napoleonic Rome, whilst attesting the strength of radiation of the emperor's government, shows us that, although in the hands of well chosen representatives, this government, was irremediably handicapped by the spontaneous coalition of the popular conscience with a great, moral, exiled power, and that the Napoleonic militarism which, in the capture of Rome, had sought no glory, but on the contrary had allowed its attack to assume the form of a simple police operation, was ever powerless against the immutable loyalty of a people but little inclined to belligerence while mourning the loss of a banished pope.

GEORGES GOYAU.

SIR JOHN GILBERT (1829-1898).

Death has thinned the ranks of Irish scholars and archæologists and very few are left of the type of O'Donovan, O'Curry, Petrie, and others who attained to eminence in that sphere of learning and research. Dr. Joyce, whose Social History of Ireland is the latest of his many valuable contributions to Irish literature, the ripe fruit of eight years close study, stands almost alone since the lamented demise, some years ago, of Rev. Dr. McCarthy of Inniscara, County Cork, whose knowledge of old, middle and modern Irish was unrivalled. While an enthusiastic and persistent propaganda is being pursued to keep alive the still spoken language of the populace, attention is for the moment, diverted from the less exciting but more laborious work of scholarly study. Later on, perhaps, when the language movement grasps and interests the educated classes, —which it has not yet done in any marked degree—we may look forward to a revival and perpetuation of the traditions of scholarly culture associated with the eminent writers named.

One of the most eminent of these was Sir John T. Gilbert, the distinguished Irish historian and archivist. Although the son of a English Protestant, a descendant of the old Devonshire family and with the blood of Sir Walter Raleigh flowing in his veins, he was Irish and Catholic to the finger tips. This was due to the strong faith and resolute will of his Irish Catholic mother (*née* Marianne Costello),[1] daughter of a Dublin coachbuilder.

The same year which witnessed the dawn of a new era for Catholic Ireland in the enactment of Emancipation, witnessed the dawn of a life that was destined to reflect additional lustre upon Ireland, just liberated from the thraldom of the penal

[1] The family of Costello derives its name and lineage from Hostilio, second son of Gilbert De Angullo, one of the knights who accompanied Strongbow to Ireland.

laws and admitted to the free exercise of civil and religious liberty. It was in the house of his maternal grandfather, Philip Costello, 23 Jervis street—one of those old Dublin side streets, long given over to dinginess and decay, and which have lost all trace of their former respectability—that John Gilbert was born January 23, 1829. Although the fruit of a mixed marriage, and born at a time and in a city described by Macaulay "a place with all the plague and none of the attractiveness of a capital, a provincial city on fire with factions, political and religious," no element of religious dissension marred the domestic harmony in the home of the Gilberts. The mother had her whole family of five children brought up as Catholics. In a letter to Rosa Mulholland, before she became his wife, he wrote in after years: "I, too, had a mother who was left a widow when I was only four years old . . . She devoted all her life to the children, of whom I was the youngest. From the time I left college the care of her was the main object of my life, and well she deserved it. To her I owe everything and from her, I believe I inherit the best qualities I possess. She often told me of her happiness in the great care which my sisters and I bestowed on her." As his father had had the advantage of being educated in one of the best schools in London, that of the famous philomath, Samuel Whyte, who united the profession of dramatist to that of schoolmaster—the kinsman and teacher of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and of Thomas Moore—a similar advantage was secured by his prudent and provident mother for young John Gilbert, who was early sent to St. Vincent's Seminary, Usher's Quay, the parent establishment of the well-known college at Castlenock. It is a trite saying that the boy is father to the man, and it is recorded that in 1836, being then seven years old the precocious pupil already distinguished himself "particularly in history," a fact which those who love to trace the evolution of genius or of some special faculty may see the career of the future historian already dimly adumbrated. From Usher's Quay he passed to Bective College, and at twelve to Prior Park College, near Bath, where many of the O'Connors, Fitzgeralds, and O'Connels received their education in

the early forties of the last century, and where English and Irish representatives of the Old Faith commingled in friendly rivalry and intercourse. When the family migrated from Brannickstown in Meath, after the house which Mrs. Gilbert's brother had inherited from his uncle was burned, to Villa Nova, near Blackrock, County Dublin—the residence of Lady Gilbert who, in her memoirs of her husband describes it as an " old-fashioned dwelling in its own enclosure of great old trees, lawns, meadows, and stream," young Gilbert, then a youth of seventeen, already had a collection of rare books relating to history, chiefly in connection with Ireland. Thither he brought his library, and there, among the songbirds in which he delighted, and in friendship with the squirrels that haunted the ancient walnut trees near his window, he set up his desk, at which he was to labor in this spot for a period of fifty years.

After leaving Prior Park College, Gilbert would have become an alumnus of the University of Dublin had not his mother been a Catholic as uncompromising as she was staunch, determined to safeguard him from the contamination of the Protestant atmosphere of Trinity, steeped as it is in traditions antagonistic to creed and country. She was not one of those invertebrates who would be content with a small share in the unjust monopoly of higher education which that stronghold of Protestant ascendancy has so long enjoyed, a barely tolerated and patronized presence within its halls. The same force of character and will power which, based on deep religious convictions and not mere temperament, had enabled her to overcome her husband's desire to have the boy brought up as a Protestant, were employed with equal success in securing her son's compliance with her wish that he should pursue his studies elsewhere. He had already begun to specialize and devoted much of his time to reading and historical research, his favorite haunt being Marsh's Library, where, amid its many quaint and curious volumes the future historian of Dublin and the Viceroys acquired those tastes and laid the foundation of that erudition of which he afterwards made such noble use. This bent of mind was innate. He tells how, as a small boy, on

his way to school, he would pause studying the faces of the houses and streets, and asking himself who had built them, and what kind of life went on behind their walls, in olden times. "I wanted to know something of the City I lived in," he said. He learnt, as time went on, to know much of it, to know it as few of his contemporaries knew it, and in the delightful, entertaining volumes which he has narrated the "History of Dublin," superseding Whitelaw and Reid's ponderous and prosy quarto, he has graphically grouped the rich results of his ramblings and researches. When he was only nineteen he was elected member of the council of the Celtic Society, at the head of which was Dr. Renehan, of Maynooth College, among its Vice-Presidents being Isaac Butt and Smith O'Brien; while he had, as fellow members of the council, Gavan Duffy, Samuel Ferguson, John Mitchel, Dr. Wilde, Dr. Russell (uncle of Lord Russell of Killowen) and Thomas O'Hagan, afterwards, as Lord O'Hagan of Tullahogue, the first Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland since the reformation. This Society, subsequently amalgamated with another association under the name of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, did splendid pioneer work in furtherance of a genuine Irish literary revival, work that has lasted and will last in its much esteemed and much sought for publications. But there were literary giants in those days, and, although politics, then as now, captured and captivated the public mind of Ireland, they did not entirely divert it from other national interests; and Irish literature counted among these. They were the stirring times of '48, which if they did not contribute much towards the solution of the political problem, as yet unsolved, added to the literature of the epoch some of the finest creations in prose and verse which have emanated from the Irish mind.

In 1851 Gilbert became connected with the *Irish Quarterly Review* in which he wrote a series of articles on the "Celtic Literature of Ireland," which impressed Irish literati and in which, emphasizing the importance of Celtic records he says: "The history of Great Britain must remain incomplete and defective until the ancient literary monuments of the Kingdom

of Ireland, which now forms an integral portion of the British Empire, have been fully investigated."

Although still a very young man, he was such an omnivorous reader and indefatigable investigator that he had reached, almost *per saltum,* a prominent and leading position among the archæologists of his day. Many of his learned elders, like Dr. Graves, consulted him on moot points of historical or antiquarian interest.

"Holding this position," says his biographer, "in January, 1852, Gilbert, secretary to the Celtic Society, closely connected with the editorship of the *Irish Quarterly Review,* author of the articles in that review on the 'Streets of Dublin,' the Celtic Records, and Irish Historic Literature, which had attracted the notice of many thoughtful minds in the Kingdom, known in intellectual circles as a young man of ability and learning far beyond his twenty-three years, sought election as member of the Royal Irish Academy, but without success." On the 12th of April, 1852, he was blackbeaned by the Academy. His rejection was ascribed to sectarian prejudices, a prejudice which was overcome when in 1855, his fast friend, Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Wilde procured his election. The Academy has since moved with the times and is not so biased or exacting, even easily admitting to membership some whose claims to scholarship or literary distinction are not very obvious.

Gilbert's rejection did not damp the ardor of his enthusiasm for historical research, in which the knowledge of languages, ancient and modern, and skill in paleography greatly aided him, or damage him in the estimation of his widening circle of friends, to whom his social qualities endeared him.

In the congenial companionship of the wits and worthies who enlivened the society of the Irish capital at that epoch, his brilliant wit and playful humor, with which his conversation and familiar letters sparkled, found free vent. Among the several social clubs or coteries which existed at this time was one called "The Mystics" of which Gilbert was a member, and which included some choice spirits of infinite wit, and

excellent fancy. It is to their symposia, doubtless, that D. F. MacCarthy alludes in his rhymed tribute to the memory of Father Prout:

> "Full many a ditty,
> Both wise and witty,
> In this social city
> Have I heard since then;
> With the glass before me,
> How the dreams come o'er me
> Of those Attic suppers, and those vanished men."

The publication of the serial, "The Streets of Dublin," the embryo of the later "History," in the early fifties in the *Irish Quarterly Review* brought the anonymous author into epistolary relations with numerous correspondents, who became his intimate friends, among them being the Duke of Leinster, grandfather to the present youthful chieftain of the Geraldines; while the issue of the first volume of his "History of Dublin" his biographer records was "hailed with delight not only by the antiquarian and historian, the lover of local tradition and story, and brilliant anecdote, and those whose family histories were touched on in its pages, but by the general public. The reviews from the highest quarters in London, Dublin and Edinburgh and on the continent, and from the principal presses in the three kingdoms were lengthy and laudatory. The young author of twenty-five was addressed in letters of congratulation and enquiry as a sage elder who was giving to a younger generation the benefit of his years of study and experience.[2]

D. F. MacCarthy wrote of it in characteristic vein to the successful young author as "the most important original contribution to local Irish history which this century has seen"; playfully adding: "By a happy and characteristic accident you have shown the world, by the color of the binding of your volume, that an Irish *blue* book must be *re(a)d*! A miracle which I believe has never been effected out of Dublin." When the third volume appeared, Lady Wilde—"Speranza" of *The*

[2] Lady Gilbert, *Life of Sir John T. Gilbert*, p. 50.

Nation—found it so interesting that she could not lay it down after she first opened it and writes to the author: "That difficult chapter on the Parliament House is admirably done. It quite woke up all my old feelings, yet you never exceed the limit of calm historic truth. Do you know I actually fell into a fit of tears over the last great scene of October 2, 1800, and had to shut up the volume for the night." Newman pronounced this work one of "very great value" and the Royal Irish Academy, now clothed and in its right mind, like the man in the gospel, after it had been delivered of the unclean spirit of sectarianism, awarded the Cunningham gold medal to the Irish historian whom it had once rejected. It is much to be regretted that the History of Dublin, like the tale of Cambyses, was never completed,[3] a large portion of the interesting old city the memorabilia of which would epitomize much of the history of Ireland—for most of Irish history converges on the metropolis—having been left untouched. It is to be hoped that some one with taste for research in this direction and capacity for presenting the results in a graphic and gossiping narrative form may work to profit and pleasure the rich mine of information hidden in the highways, and byways, exploring ground not covered by Gilbert, and completing its history before vanishing Dublin shall have become a thing of the past.

Gilbert's reputation was now well established. Distinctions were showered upon him. Successfully elected an honorary associate of the Genealogical and Historical Society of Great Britain, honorary librarian of the Royal Irish Academy, of which he was a life member, and honorary secretary of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, he had a large share in the work for the preservation of ancient Irish literature which has placed a large number of invaluable volumes, on the shelves of the great libraries of the world, books which

[3] Three volumes were issued (1854-59). About his "bookroom" at Villa Nova, when he left on Monday morning, May 23, 1898, never to return, were slips of printed matter for the abridgment of his history of Dublin, then in the press and published by Dollard, in 1903.

were anxiously looked for by the learned in all countries, and are now becoming rare.[4] He and his co-secretary, Dr. Todd, were the moving spirits of a group of eminent men, profoundly impressed with the need for disinterested effort on the part of some Irishmen in order to save the ancient literature of their country from passing into oblivion, and collecting together all Irish antiquities of all descriptions to be deposited in one central treasury for the benefit of posterity.[5]

Working on the same lines as when he was elaborating his "History of Dublin," he preluded his "History of the Irish Viceroys" by a series of papers on Dublin Castle in the *Dublin University Magazine* then (1856) edited by Mr. Cheyne Brady.

At this time his hands were full of work. Besides helping the Kilkenny Archæological Society, of which he was honorary secretary for Dublin, in its learned labors, he was one of a committee formed to promote the compilation and publication of a complete Irish Dictionary, a work which never saw the light. Father Dineen, a well known Irish scholar, has supplied the omission by his careful reëditing and revision of previous published dictionaries of the vernacular, compressed into the valuable volume brought out at the instance of the Irish Texts Society.

In 1862 he wrote for "Chambers' Encyclopedia" two articles on the early history and state of Ireland, and on the Irish language and literature, at the suggestion of his friend, Dr. Reeves; and in 1863 strove but failed, to interest the government in the publication of a collection of original documents illustrative of the history of Dublin from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. In the same year he reproduced in pamphlet form the "Record Revelations by an Irish Archivist," which first appeared as a serial in the *Dublin Review;* revised and enlarged they were reissued in 1864 in a volume bearing the title 'On the History, Position and Treatment of the Public Records of Ireland." The book was epoch-making in the history of Irish literature. Its main object was

[4] Lady Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[5] *Ibid.*

to place permanently before the world an exposition of the Record System sought to be imposed on Ireland, in opposition to the protests and disapprobation of every Irish archivist, and to guide the public respecting the steps proper to be taken with reference to the promised governmental concentration of the Records in a General Repository at Dublin. He pointed out that while during five previous years annual grants had been made by the English Treasury for the production of works entitled "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland" and "Calendars of State Papers," 71 volumes having been published at a cost of £35,500, not one of these was committed to the editorial care of any scholar in Ireland; that the period when the interest of the scholars of the world centered in the surviving Gaelic monuments of Ireland, was that chosen by government for the abolition of the professorships of the Celtic Languages in the Irish Queen's Colleges; and that while the Parliamentary grants to the British Museum averaged annually nearly £100,000, those to the Royal Irish Academy were but £500 per annum, though Ireland was contributing to the Imperial Exchequer a direct annual revenue of seven millions sterling! The result was the organization of a public Record Office of which Gilbert was made secretary. He had startled literary society in Dublin no less by his extraordinary and profound archæological research than by his crushing criticism upon the "Irish Calendars" edited by Mr. Morrin, under the patronage of the Master of the Rolls. The pamphlet in which he expressed the blundering and parsimonious policy of the government was declared to be one of the most remarkable publications of the day. Government authorities were at last shamed into action, but not cured of that insular self-sufficiency which has always been the mainspring, the keynote, the *motif* of their policy in all their proceedings in relation to Ireland.

This was further evidenced in the appointment of two English archæologists, Brewer and Hardy, to decide upon the accuracy or inaccuracy of a translation of Irish records relating to Irish lands, tenures, habits, persons, and antiquities;

although the Royal Irish Academy had a special department devoted to the elucidation of Irish antiquities and records, composed of Irish scholars of the highest eminence, exceptionally well versed in all that relates to archæological studies. This was quite in line with their previous procedure. When Betham died, John O'Donovan applied to the government to be appointed Keeper of the Irish Records, when he was informed that the office was then held by Lord Stanhope, an English peer, whose deputy Betham had been, and that, despite all agitations on the part of Irish patriots, the office would be abolished on Stanhope's decease. The ludicrous anomaly and glaring injustice of this arrangement is accentuated by the fact, vouched for by O'Donovan, that neither the earl nor the knight, his deputy, could *even read the Records!* Little wonder that this distinguished Irishman should, in a letter to Gilbert, thus give vent to his indignation: "So much for Irish offices! I have no belief in any justice for Ireland, or for any other country unless Ireland, or such other countries, are able to demand justice with the tongue, or fist, or sword. Ireland has lost all these instruments recently, and therefore she must rest content with having injustice copiously dealt out to her." [6]

Coincident with Gilbert's election in 1865 as a life member of the Royal Dublin Society, followed by his election as a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of London, was the publication of his "History of the Viceroys of Ireland," pronounced by the *Athenæum* to be "one of the ablest and most useful books on Irish history.

Appointed, in 1870, Inspector of Manuscripts in Ireland under the Historical Manuscript Commission, he was designated by the Irish Master of the Rolls (Sir Edward Sullivan) to select and edit the documents which were published under the title of "Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland," these facsimiles being produced by the photozincographic process. The work on the National Manuscripts of Ireland included not only the most perfect reproduction of Irish illu-

[6] *Life of Sir John T. Gilbert*, p. 69. Letter from Dr. John O'Donovan, dated March 19, 1855.

minated and other historic writings, but also an "account of the same, forming a valuable volume of history in itself," the whole requiring an intimate knowledge of every page of Irish Annals, and of every piece of ancient, or medieval or even later important writing connected with the history of Ireland from the date of its earliest records.[7]

In 1869 he proposed to the Royal Irish Academy, as a work to be undertaken by them, the translation and editing of the ancient Irish books of great importance, treasured in their library, but inaccessible to all save scholars learned in the Irish language. This work he himself inaugurated by editing and publishing "Leabhar na h'Uidhri" and "Leabhar Breac"; and entering on the same undertaking with regard to the "Book of Leinster," he was cheered by the sympathy of all Celtic scholars and students throughout Europe.[8] The encouragement he received from European scholars, kindred spirits, was followed by the discouraging and dispiriting action of the English Treasury in abolishing the office of Secretary to the Public Records through narrow-minded and niggardly economy, despite a strong protest from the Irish Master of the Rolls, and a memorial signed by a large number of the most influential names in Ireland. It was a crushing blow to Gilbert, who had reason to deplore it on public and private grounds. It occurred just as the fruits of his long labors were approaching maturity, on the eve of the publication of the first part of the National Manuscripts,—a splendid volume, which entitled him to better treatment—and after he had severed his connection with the lucrative business of his grandfather and father, and taken on himself the chief support of his mother and sisters; largely sacrificing pecuniary consideration to pursue those moderately remunerative labors, a desire for the achievement of which was the passion of his life.[9] It was a grievous disappointment after he had for eight years of invaluable work,

[7] Lady Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 174. The "Leabhar na h'Uidhri" is the oldest known volume entirely in the Irish language—the chief surviving literary monument, not ecclesiastical, of ancient Ireland.

[9] Lady Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

which could have been done by few men, proved the necessity and importance of the office, upon which he entered with a great purpose in mind. He desired to open up the entire treasury of documentary material for Irish history, to print all that was necessary or desirable for the enlightenment and for the use of present and future historical writers, and thus, by incontrovertible evidence, to free history of many pages stained by misrepresentation. He aspired to see the new Record Office an institution based on the lines of the French School of Archivists, where the work is done systematically, which appoints minor schools in every province and whose archivists being thus thoroughly educated and technically trained, are competent to fill important posts as heads of the several departments. It was with no selfish views nor regrets that he saw himself compelled to abandon so patriotic a prospect.

"Under a blow so doubly crushing," writes Lady Gilbert, "no wonder that his health gave way. Buoyant spirits and genial humor had enabled him to support the long strain of incessant labors hardly relaxed from boyhood, and the ardor of his hope and love of work, even for work's sake, had hitherto carried him over all obstacles where even less sensitive natures might naturally have broken down. But the catastrophe of this year coming as an unexpected climax to overstrain, seriously affected his nervous system. A fever of anxiety was followed by a physical and mental depression with which he battled for a considerable time, fulfilling all his duties and carrying on the work of the National Manuscripts; but at last he yielded to the advice of physicians and friends, and consented to spend a year abroad under medical care, removed from the associations with, and sources of, his misfortune." [10]

His life-long friend, Denis Florence MacCarthy, expressed the thought of many minds when he wrote: "It is really intolerable that to serve some petty, private purpose, or to effect some paltry saving, a career of such activity and credit to the country should be interrupted. I can feel complete sympathy with him in his disappointment at the prospects of being severed from

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

an institution, the necessity for which was mainly pointed out by himself, and to which his learning, his talent, and his industry would have contributed such valuable assistance."

He left Dublin with a heavy heart to seek renewal of health in idleness and change of scene under circumstances which precluded him from the enjoyment of leisure and freedom from work. That Gilbert, the indomitable in conquering difficulties, the irrepressible in play of good humor, and the sanguine in spirit, should have broken down in the early prime of life, seemed incredible to those who knew him well, till the long strain of labor beset with difficulties, was called to mind. Death and domestic grief added to the depressing influence of enfeebled health and baffled hopes. His sister, Philippa, and his old friend, Sir William Wilde, died during his absence.

His return and resumption of his literary work, restored to health, rejoiced his many friends, and letters of congratulations poured in upon him. About this time he became very anxious for the inclusion in the Rolls series of publications of " Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland " and of the Chartularies and Annals of the two great Abbeys of Dublin—St. Mary's Abbey and the Abbey of St. Thomas; but the reduction of the Treasury grant for historical publications prevented the realization of the latter prospect.

Meanwhile another notable Irish scholar, Rev. Dr. Todd, had passed away, and Gilbert took a leading part in promoting a memorial of one whose highest and principal public distinction was the service he rendered in the formation of a sound and accurate school of study of the ancient language of Ireland, and who was known to the world of letters through his labors in connection with native Irish literature. For this purpose a professorship of the Irish language in the Royal Irish Academy was founded. It was at his suggestion that the Academy, in 1866, established a department for work on Irish Manuscripts, and at his proposal they commenced, in 1869, the publication of the ancient Irish texts in their integrity in the hope that it would be attended with important results in the promotion of Celtic studies. In pursuance of this, and in a

system originated by Gilbert, the two important manuscripts "Leabhar na h'Uidhri" and "Leabhar Breac," were edited by him and published under his direction and supervision. He then undertook the editing and publication of the "Book of Leinster," until failing health again compelled him to seek change of air and scene, and the editorship was transferred to other hands.

In 1877 government, at the special instance of Sir G. Jessell, English Master of the Rolls, reinstated Gilbert in his position as Inspector and Editor for Ireland, under the Historical Manuscript Commission. "Of the National Manuscripts," wrote Dr. W. K. Sullivan, then President of the Queen's College, Cork, "the work belongs to you by all the laws of authorship. The first part is truly a National Monument." Besides this and other important literary work, he contributed to the *Academy*, the *Athenæum* and other reviews, special articles on learned topics; while he found time to carry on an extensive and continuous correspondence with literati at home and abroad, personally pursuing his investigations in the British Museum, Bodleian, and other large libraries, where he occasionally employed transcribers, and inspecting, when in Ireland, ancient manuscripts in the possession of private owners. His knowledge of historical subjects had come to be regarded as encyclopedic and he was frequently appealed to for information which he willingly imparted, often spending hours taken from the time devoted to his own particular work, in collating and preparing concise notes for some fellow laborer in the same field of research.

In 1879 he began to publish the "Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland," the first of the great works dealing with the period of conflict from 1641-1652, printing for the first time a unique and remarkable manuscript entitled "The Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction," which he had discovered among the muniments of Trinity College, Dublin, and to which was added an appendix of valuable letters and documents; the whole forming a mass of contemporary evidence, original and authentic, elucidating the history of that important

event, hitherto much clouded by prejudiced accounts from partisan pens. The manuscript, written between 1652 and 1660, he regarded as of special value in reference to the views and acts of descendants of the old Celtic race of the North of Ireland represented by Owen Roe O'Neill and his "Ulster party" as distinguished from the Irish of other provinces, as well as from the Anglo-Irish and the Irish Scots. The "contemporary history," comprised in four volumes, entailed a vast amount of labor. In 1880 he brought to a satisfactory conclusion his painstaking work on the collation and the revision of the plates from the collections of England for the National Manuscripts of Ireland. The design of the "Account of Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland" was that the publication should constitute a comprehensive palæographic series, furnishing characteristic specimens of the documents that have come down from each of the classes which in past ages formed the principal elements in the population of Ireland or exercised an influence in Irish affairs; combining therewith facsimiles of writings connected with eminent personages or transactions of importance in the country's annals down to the early part of the eighteenth century. It was a publication of magnitude and comprehensiveness, dealing with recondite materials, and comprising writings of various ages, classes, and languages.

He next published his important work, the "History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-1652," another narrative of the War in Ireland from 1641 to the conclusion of the treaty for the cessation of hostilities between England and the Irish in 1643, based on contemporary documents and letters showing the movements of the Irish Confederates, and of Rinuccini, the papal nuncio. The manuscript of the narrative was identified by Gilbert as the long missing work by Richard Bellings, Secretary to the Supreme Council of the Irish Confederation, of whose career, concerning which very little had hitherto been known, he collected a good many particulars. Its historical value is incalculable. It completes our knowledge of one of the most momentous and interesting epochs in Irish history. It is history at first hand

and from a reliable source, supplementing the "Aphorismical Discovery" a record of the war in the North. Bellings relates the movements of the Confederates in the south, east and west —in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. The historical "Introduction" prefixed to it by Gilbert is accompanied by correspondence and documents of the Confederation (the originals of many of these are in the possession of the Dublin Franciscans and of the administrators of the English Government in Ireland). For this work, we are told, Gilbert's labors or research were immense. He had been laying up stores of documents, unearthed by his patient perseverance during a long course of years, rivetting connecting links, and gathering treasure of corroborative evidence. "They will never be able to blacken that period again," [11] he said, speaking with satisfaction of the admirable conduct of the Irish Confederates as the light of truth had revealed it.[12]

It is pertinent to note in this connection that the famous Rinuccini manuscripts, which government ultimately refused to publish, were for a time entrusted to Gilbert's keeping, and that having reported on them for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, he had a transcript of the whole eight folio volumes made for his own purpose. It is also interesting to note that the flag of the Confederation carried in procession before Rinuccini, is at the Dominican priory of St. Mary, Tallaght, near Dublin. It was preserved in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, is of green silk, and bears a painting of the "Queen of the Rosary."

Towards the close of 1880 he was nominated by the lord lieutenant to fill the vacancy on the council of trustees of the National Library of Ireland caused by the death of Very

[11] In a letter to Gilbert, Dr. S. R. Gardiner says, "I have been living in the Ireland of 1641-2 during the last week, and a very unpleasant country it is to be in. Yesterday I read a letter of Conway's calmly stating that 'Monroe's Scots had marched into Antrim and found *no* enemy, but had killed about 40 men, and 500 or 600 women and children who were looking after the cows.' I don't think Prendergast got hold of anything as bad as that."

[12] Lady Gilbert, pp. 277-278.

Rev. Dr. Russell, president of Maynooth College. Ever watchful for the furtherance of the cause of Irish historical research, he made several valuable additions to the Library. It was also through his intermediary that the Irish manuscripts included in the Ashburnham Collection, purchased by Government, were deposited in the Royal Irish Academy. As Professor of Antiquities to the Royal Hibernian Academy and one of the governors of the National Gallery of Ireland, he found scope for the development and exercise of his knowledge of art, particularly in the domain of historical portraiture, well represented in the fine building on Leinster Lawn. In 1892 The Royal University of Ireland conferred on him its honorary degree of Doctor of Laws and on 1897 he was knighted by the Viceroy, Lord Cadogan.

His pen was never idle. For several years he contributed brief biographies of distinguished Irishmen to the *Dictionary of National Biography,* edited by Leslie Stephen. In 1887, at the request of the Dublin Corporation, he undertook the editing of the city muniments. Early in life he had, for the purpose of his own researches, thoroughly investigated those interesting records, and collected in a series of large manuscript volumes, which he entitled " De Rebus Eblanæ," writings bearing on the history of the Irish metropolis gathered from many sources. In 1889 he began the publication of the " Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin," which are illustrated with facsimiles of manuscripts, rare engravings, portraits, buildings, bridges, and other features of the old city by the Liffey which have long since disappeared. In the previous year he had appealed to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy to take up the work of translating certain of the old Irish texts, the contents of which were practically inaccessible to students of ancient Irish literature; but after much correspondence and debating, it abandoned the idea and proceeded instead with the production of photographic facsimiles of old manuscripts known as " the Royal Irish Academy Facsimiles," for which the world of letters is indebted to Gilbert's zeal and pertinacity.

His home life, which had been temporarily clouded by the

death of one of his oldest and most attached friends, the genial and gifted Irish poet, Denis Florence MacCarthy, and the failure of the Munster Bank, by which he was a heavy loser, was brightened in 1890 by his marriage to Rosa Mulholland, the well-known Irish authoress who, as Lady Gilbert, is now the widowed occupant of Villa Nova, where she spent so many happy days and where she penned his biography a loving tribute to his cherished memory. He studied hard and worked hard all his life, as much after marriage as before it. "My work is my pleasure," he would say. He had now, as ever, always some work on hand: reports on the Charlemont Papers, the Ormonde, Franciscan manuscripts and others. The seven volumes of the "Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin;" the "Historic Literature of Ireland" forming four separate works; "A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland, 1688-1691" (published 1892); "Narratives of the Detention, Liberation and Marriage of Maria Clementine Stuart, styled Queen of Great Britain and Ireland" (published 1894); and "Crede Mihi: the Most Ancient Register Book of the Archbishops of Dublin before the Reformation" (published 1897) were among the literary output of these later years. To his credit as an Irish-Irelander be it recorded that the mechanical work on these books was done in Dublin, employing, on principle, his own people in his own native city, a principle he consistently acted upon for many years. With but one exception, all his works were printed and published in Dublin. A portion of the History of Dublin, in one volume, entitled "An Account of the Parliament House, Dublin, with Notices of Parliaments held there, 1661-1800," was published by him in 1896. For many years he had been collecting materials for a complete work on Irish Bibliography, including not only books published in Ireland, but also those written and published on the Continent by Irishmen during the 16th and 17th centuries, which would be of the greatest utility to authors and book collectors. [13]

[13] His library, now in the possession of the Dublin Corporation, contains a number of important manuscripts and valuable materials for future historians, especially for Irish writers. The special collection in which

This work the plan and scope of which he unfolded in papers read before the Royal Irish Academy, was begun in 1896-1897, but he did not live to complete it. "To the last" observes his biographer, "one of his deepest interests centered in the Royal Irish Academy."

On two occasions he put aside a proposal to elect him as president, preferring his post as honorary librarian, for its intimate connection with the books and manuscripts, and the greater leisure it afforded him to pursue his own ideal labors. His solicitude for the maintenance of a national Irish character in the institution, for the development, through its instrumentality, of a true knowledge and appreciation of the treasure of ancient Irish writings preserved therein as foundation for a noble Irish literature in the future, never flagged till his very latest moment. He deplored the fact that some of his friends deviated from the intention of Lord Charlemont by substituting largely the pursuit of general science for more national aims and objects. In this he had, happily, some sympathisers and followers, men who still live and strive to uphold the main original purpose of the illustrious founder of the institution.[14]

He was on his way to attend a meeting of the council of the Academy, when death suddenly snapped the thread of a life spent in and for Ireland and its ancient literature. In simple and touching language his wife graphically tells how it ended; how they spent an hour out of doors in the grounds of Villa Nova, enjoying the beauty of a bright May morning, sunshine,

he took the keenest interest, consisted of those works of Irishmen who, while living in enforced exile, wrote contemporary history, often in Latin and under curious titles, to escape the eye of the enemy, and at a period when it was asserted and believed that Irishmen were in a state of savagery, incapable of education and unworthy of being treated as human beings (Lady Gilbert, p. 367). In the manuscript room of the Royal Irish Academy is preserved his unfinished work containing notices on books by Irish writers, or in connection with Ireland, printed prior to 1600, and continued to June, 1897, with notes on similar books printed in the 17th century.

[14] Lady Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-67. The Royal Irish Academy was founded in 1875 and its first meeting was held at Lord Charlemont's on April 18 of that year.

delightful verdure, flowers in early bloom making the little demesne a miniature terrestrial paradise; how they lingered in one favorite haunt after another, rejoicing together and thanking God for their happiness; how she wished to accompany him, but as she had been suffering from a cold he would not allow her to leave home; how they chatted and laughed together, and how, after a tender parting, he walked away from her at the door, his last look at the home thrown backward to his wife across the clustering roses. "He went out of the garden wicket which had known his passing for fifty years—as a youth of nineteen, as a man till the age of sixty-nine—and he saw his home no more. A friend, speaking with him as he walked down Merrion Avenue thought him looking exceedingly well, and, as usual, felt the influence of his sweet and genial humor. He died of sudden heart failure on the way to Dublin. There was no struggle, no suffering for him; no cause for spiritual dread in the souls of those who loved him. Sudden and unlooked for as came the summons, he was ready. No more pure and noble spirit ever answered the call of his maker."[15]

He was as fine a type of Catholic, sound and consistent in practice, as he was of an Irishman proud of his ancient race and devoted to its ancient religion. Though reserved on so profound a subject, Lady Gilbert says he had a deep sense of religion, and a thorough reliance on Providence. "Do not repine," he said to one in sorrow, "depend on it, Providence orders all things for the best. Everything ends well." On another occasion he said, when money was being counted with a view to making provision for the future. "Don't count up money. If we do our duty, Providence will always give enough. I will work while I live." He loved privacy in daily prayer, saying, "I would rather not let anyone see what passes between me and my Creator." The Lord's Prayer was his favorite prayer, and the spiritual book of his choice was the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas Á Kempis. He took with him out of the world the faith to which he was born, and persisted, unostentatiously and with characteristic reserve, in the spiritual practices which he had learned at his mother's knee. "It is

[15] Lady Gilbert, pp. 384-5.

a tremendous thing to me to receive my God," he said to one who shared his most sacred thoughts; yet, despite this keen sense of reverential awe, sprung from an unusually vivid power of realizing an idea, he fulfilled also the difficult duties of his religion with childlike fidelity. Of the truth of the dogmas of Catholicity he had thorough conviction. A friend having on one occasion pointed to blots on certain pages of the history of the Church, observing that they might be held accountable for deviations from her paths, he laid down his book on his knee, and, after a few moments' reflection, he remarked impressively. "There is no excuse to be made for the confounding of two things: the blunders and even crimes of men, and the doctrines of religion." Speaking of the spirit of unbelief so largely abroad, he said, "Believe me, it is a disease in men's minds; but, it passes. One, diseased, will infect a whole group; but every man if left to his own heart, may find the cure, if he will." His trust in God as merciful beyond our understanding, and his charity towards all men, produced in him a peaceful attitude of mind in relation to the problems of faith. To him who made the mysteries of life and death, including all other mysteries, he left their solution. He was ever aware of the limitations of the human intellect, and willing to await the great revelation which follows the release of the spirit.

His loss to Ireland was regarded as in many ways irreparable; and it was recognized that he had revealed more of the hidden or forgotten sources of Irish history than had been done by any single student. The present apathy of many Irish people on the subject did not discourage him. He looked to the future with a hopeful eye. "One day to come," he said, "they will wake up and look around for the authentic facts of their history, and I will work while I live to provide for that day." In the words of Professor O'Looney, he was the forerunner and founder of the modern revival of interest in the study and cultivation of the language, literature and history of Ireland, to the advancement of which he devoted his labors from early boyhood till the day of his death.

R. F. O'Connor.

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MANGAN AND POE.

One cannot read "Dark Rosaleen," nor, indeed, many other poems of Mangan, without being forcibly reminded of that American author whose studies in horror and gloom have been the subject of a varied criticism, ranging from highest praise to severest condemnation. The purpose here is not to determine the relative value of those criticisms, but, considering Edgar Allan Poe as a poet of high merit, to point out a few of the most striking relations that exist between him and James Clarence Mangan.

A comparison of the writings of these two poets reveals a curious parallelism, one of those unaccountable phenomena not altogether uncommon in the history of literature, a similarity at times approaching almost to a sameness, but broken occasionally by sharp contrasts, which only accentuate the points of resemblance. And this likeness is all the more surprising when we find that there is not one particle of direct evidence that either poet knew of the other's existence. The question, therefore, whether Poe, as has sometimes been stated, borrowed from the Irish poet, cannot be settled with any degree of certainty. The theory, however, that he did so appears extremely probable.

The life-time of the two poets is almost identical. Poe was born in 1809; Mangan, six years earlier. Both died in 1849. Poe, according to some authorities, could trace his ancestry back to a distinguished Anglo-Norman family. With the exception of the names of his parents, Mangan's ancestry is unknown. In the following words Miss Guiney has summed up the most important of their personal characteristics:—"The two Celts had much, very much, in common; Poe's Attic taste, sprung from his fortunate training, is responsible for most of the difference. To affirm of him, as has often been done, that he worshipped beauty with his whole soul; that he loved the occult sciences, the phrenologists, and the old mystics; that his

existence was but an affecting struggle with the adversaries of darkness; even that he was of a frail physique, his forehead high and pale, the lower part of his face sensitive and dejected;—this is to describe Mangan equally well. They had kindred dreams; they were haunted by the same loathing of the 'dishonor of the grave;' they died, under almost identical circumstances of pain and misery in the same year. Their respective sense of humor was unevenly apportioned. In point of achievement, too, or of the forces which make achievement possible, they are hardly to be compared. Poe was ever the artist; his imagination was not only sumptuous but steadfast; his utterances were fewer and had finality. In the moral contrast, it is the Irish poet who gains. Poe with his manifold gifts . . . . was of 'the highest order of the seraphim illuminati who sneer.' He nursed grudges and hungered for homage; he was seldom so happy as in a thriving quarrel. Mangan was a pattern of sweet gratitude and deference, and left his art to prosper or perish, as Heaven should please." [1]

The environment of the two men was vastly different. Mangan's whole life was spent within the limits of perhaps the most miserable section of a single city. From earliest youth Poe enjoyed the comforts of a cheerful home, and until he had grown to manhood was a stranger to the privations and the sufferings that came as the result of his own dissipation.

Unlike his less fortunate brother poet he never knew what it meant to spend day after day, even in youth, "dreeing death for others." He had resided in England, had travelled on the continent, and spent some years in the largest cities of the United States. He further had the advantage of a relatively thorough education. Mangan, with the exception of a few years in the primary schools of Dublin, received no education but that which he acquired by ceaseless reading along the lines suggested by his own fancy.

But it is with a comparison of their literary productions, and particularly with their poetry, rather than with their lives

[1] *James Clarence Mangan. Poems and Study.* By Louise Imogen Guiney. Boston, 1897.

or dispositions that we are here concerned. In the extent of his poetical writings Mangan has far exceeded Poe; if, however, we were to select from his poems only those that are really worthy of his genius, those on which his fame must ultimately rest, we might then say that the two poets wrote about an equal amount. And in the general character of the subject-matter their writings are fundamentally alike. There is in each a prevailing tone of sadness and of melancholy; a love of the indefinite, the vague, the mysterious; a predilection for the preternatural and the weird; a recoiling from the world of reality, and a constant effort to find more congenial surroundings in a world which the vast majority of mankind enter only with hesitation and with a deep feeling of awe. This predominance of gloom in the lives of both was undoubtedly largely temperamental; but there is likewise no doubt that to some extent Poe was rendered moody and melancholy by the taunts of his young associates concerning his parents, just as Mangan's lack of cheerfulness was intensified by his intercourse with uncongenial office companions. But the clouds gathered more suddenly over Poe's fortunes. Like Mangan he knew "the loveliness of loving well," and in the death of an early friend he read the "symbol and the token" of all misery. The constant recurrence of this doleful note is not at all accidental. It is a characteristic deliberately studied and embodied in their work. Poe insists that a certain taint of sadness is inseparably connected with all the higher manifestations of true beauty, and the impression which he aims to produce is one of "pleasureable sadness": [2]

> "A feeling of sadness and longing
> That is not akin to pain,
> And resembles sorrow only
> As the mist resembles the rain."

Aside from the poetic content there is in their mode of expression, at least in their best poems, an indefinable something neither music nor poetry, though partaking of the nature of

[2] *The Poetic Principle. Poe's Works*, vol. XIV, p. 279, Virginia edition. New York, 1902.

both, which haunts the soul of the reader in the echoes of their entrancing melodies. It is in their later works that this quality reaches its highest point of perfection. Read, for example, the last stanza of "Ulalume":

> Then my heart it grew ashen and sober
> As the leaves that were crisped and sere—
> As the leaves that were withering and sere,
> And I cried—"It was surely October
> On this very night of last year
> That I journeyed—I journeyed down here—
> That I brought a dead burden down here;
> On this night, of all nights in the year,
> Ah, what demon has tempted me here?
> Well I know now this dim lake of Auber—
> This misty mid region of Weir—
> Well I know now this dank tarn of Auber
> This ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir."

And compare with this the last two stanzas of "The Saw-Mill," which, under the title of "A Mourner," was published in *The Nation* about a year before "Ulalume" appeared in *The American Whig Review:*

> "In a few days more, most lonely One.
> Shall I, as a narrow ark, veil
> Thine eyes from the glare of the world and sun.
> 'Mong the urns in yonder dark vale,
> In the cold and dim
> Recesses of yonder dark vale!
>
> "For this grieve not! Thou knowest what thanks
> The weary-souled and the meek owe
> To death,—I awoke, and heard four planks
> Fall down with a saddening echo,
> I heard four planks
> Fall down with a hollow echo."

These two poems may be taken as typical of their respective authors, not because they represent the best work of either,—for this is not the case,—but because they reveal, in some degree, qualities that are characteristic of both poets. The topic, —a phase of death,—though considered from different view-

points, is one on which they frequently dwell. The scenes, too,—if one may speak of the scene in a lyric,—are similar:

> "The dank tarn of Auber
> In the ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir,"

and

> "the hillside
> That glanced adown o'er the sunken glen,
> Where flowed the river Mourne."

In "Ulalume" the poet is pictured as walking forth at night beneath the cypress trees of a dim, misty region. In spite of the "nebulous lustre" which lights up the way, his soul continues to whisper forebodings of evil. At the end of the vista he is stopped before the door of a tomb. He then recognizes the spot, and, remembering a former memorable visit to this, the burial-place of one most dear to him, his heart sinks within him and he is overwhelmed with sadness and despair.

"The Saw Mill" tells of a wanderer who lies down to rest on the banks of the river Mourne. The water in the mill, the sound of the saw, the breeze, and the humming bees lull him into a dreamy reverie, and in

> "The song of the tree that the saw sawed through"

he hears the warning that in a few days more the planks thus made shall form a narrow ark, his resting place, among the urns in the neighboring cold, dark vale. Unlike "Ulalume," this poem concludes with the author's accustomed word of hopefulness. This difference is evident throughout all the poems of Mangan and Poe, for while the former at times pictures life in gloomiest colors he is always careful to insist that beyond the veil of darkness shines perpetual light: the latter, on the contrary is constantly wrapped in doubt so dark and dismal that it can scarcely be distinguished from despair. "Eldorado" may be taken as an exception to this general statement; and the "Hymn" to the Mother of God certainly reveals a spirit so different from his other poems that it has been well characterized as "the one bright star that 'flickered up to Heaven through the night' of his clouded existence."

But if the similarity extended no further than to the points just mentioned there would not be the same interest or importance attaching to this comparison nor the same reason for selecting these two poems, or in fact the poems of these two authors, to the exclusion of poems of like character and tone by many other authors. The peculiar qualities here accentuated belong not so much to the matter as to the form, and may be roughly summed up under the three heads of rime, repetition and parallelism; we might also add a fourth, though less important than the rest—the use of assonance. Now the effect in question is due not to the fact that any or all of these elements are employed but rather to the unusual combination in which they exist.

The rime effect in the poems cited is not so marked as in many other poems, such, for example, as "The Wail and Wandering of the "Three Khalendeers" or "The Bells." But even here we find a few examples that may serve to illustrate a tendency which, in Mangan's case at least, has been developed to excess. The attempt to make "qualm ill" rime with "Saw-Mill" is inexcusable. The rime itself might be admitted, but the line in which it occurs has been so distorted by the effort that it must be summarily rejected. Similarly the riming of "Meek owe" with "echo" in the last stanza can hardly be justified. The use, also, of "plank will" to rime with "tranquil" is scarcely legitimate. Poe, on the contrary, is far more careful in his use of rime. He has the happy faculty of discovering a proper name which often serves no other apparent purpose than to fill out the requirements of the verse, while at the same time adding increased vagueness to the environment. "Auber" corresponds very well with "October" and "sober," just as "Yaanek" does with "volcanic" and "Titanic." But "Dian" does not harmonize so well with "dry on" and "lion"; nor is there the necessary sound-sequence in the words "vista" and "sister." Like Mangan, Poe occasionally uses a Latin term, evidently because it serves the purpose of his metre, while at the same time expressing his meaning. For example, in the phrase "videlicet a tent" the last word is made to rime with the final syllable of "extrava-

gant." Both Mangan and Poe frequently use with good effect the run-on instead of the end-stopped line; as in the following:—

> "In terror she spoke letting sink her
> Wings until they trailed in the dust."

Here again, though not in his serious moments, Mangan errs by excess, sometimes dividing a word at the end of a line, as in "The Metempsychosis:"—

> "It seems to me a pos'tive truth, admitting of no modification, that the human soul, accustomed to a lodging
> Inside a carnal tenement, must when it quits one body
> . . . . . .
> Seek out a habitation in some other cozy corpus."

In justice to Mangan it should be stated here that when he wrote verses like these he did so for a very definite purpose, and with a full knowledge of their real value.

The repetitions and parallelisms employed cannot well be considered separately, for they do not exist apart. They are rather elements combined in various proportions dependent on the effect which the poet wishes to produce, and with an approximate degree of accuracy they might be styled a form of parallel repetition. This, in its ultimate analysis, is only a modification and a new adaptation of the refrain—a poetic device almost as old as poetry itself. As a recognized and accepted feature of poetry it was, in this new form, certainly unknown until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. But it was not wholly unknown. We have but to read Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," and Bürger's "Lenore" to find something that is more than a suggestion of the style of verse which Mangan and Poe later developed.

From the forty-four poets represented in Mangan's "German Anthology" of 1845, other ballads like Rückert's "Die Begrüssung auf dem Kynast" might also be cited, but none seems quite so important as "Lenore." The stanzas in this poem that best illustrate our point are these:—

"O Mutter, Mutter! Hin ist hin!
Verloren ist verloren!
Der Tod, der Tod ist mein Gewinn!
O wär' ich nie geboren!
Lisch aus, mein Licht, auf ewig aus!
Stirb hin, stirb hin in Nacht und Graus!
Bei Gott ist kein Erbarmen.
O weh, O weh mir Armen!

O Mutter! was ist Seligkeit?
O Mutter! was ist Hölle?
Bei ihm, bei ihm ist Seligkeit,
Und ohne Wilhelm Hölle!
Lisch aus, mein Licht, auf ewig aus!
Stirb hin, stirb hin in Nacht und Graus!
Ohn' ihn mag ich auf erden,
Mag dort nicht selig werden."

Mangan's translation of these lines is well worth noticing here. It is one of his best poems from the German, for he makes clear that he has lost sight of none of the merits of the original, and has embodied them all in his version. Among the many English translations of this poem Mangan's is undoubtedly the best. He has accurately reproduced the spirit, the metre, and the rime-scheme; and what is of greater importance in this particular case he seems to have taken special pains to accentuate the very peculiarity which we have been considering. Note how closely he follows the German poem:—

"O mother, mother! gone is gone
And lorn for once is ever lorn!
The grave is now my hope alone;
Would God that I had ne'er been born.
Out, out, sick light! out flickering taper!
Down, down in night and charnel vapour!
In Heaven there is no pity—none—
O, woe is me! Oh wretched one!

Oh mother, what is Paradise?
Oh mother what and where is Hell?
In Wilhelm lies my Paradise—
Where he is not my life is Hell!
Then out sick light! out flickering taper!
Down, down in blackest night and vapour!
In Heaven, on earth I will not share
Delight if Wilhelm be not there!"

The following stanzas from the "Ancient Mariner" show Coleridge's use of repetition:—

"And I had done a hellish thing,
And it would work 'em woe;
For all averred I had killed the bird
That made the breeze to blow.
Ah wretch said they, the bird to slay
That made the breeze to blow.

Nor dim nor red like God's own head,
The glorious sun uprist;
They all averred I had killed the bird
That brought the fog and mist.
'Twas right, said they, such birds to slay
That bring the fog and mist."

The parallel repetitions which we discover in both of these poems are very far, it is true, from the "curious involved diction" of either Poe or Mangan. And yet they are closely akin to that of the latter. They are very different from the refrain as it existed in contemporaneous German or English poetry. In the verse of some of Mangan's fellow poets in Ireland, like Samuel Lover, we find a peculiar use of the refrain. In Percy's "Reliques," too, there are many poems, such as "Richard of Almaigne," "King of Scots and Andrew Browne," and "Corydon's Doleful Knell" in which the refrain is used, but in all these cases it is a refrain and nothing more. It is evident that neither Bürger nor Coleridge had any thought, in the stanzas which we have quoted, of making use of such a thing as the refrain in the sense in which it is now understood. Their repetitions were employed solely with a view to the production of a poetic effect which harmonized with the spirit and movement of the poem in hand; Mangan and Poe perceiving this effect as well as the value of the refrain developed and perfected them, and if a distinction can be made between the final products of the two poets, in this particular regard, it would seem in a general way at least, to be this: the former lays greater emphasis on the refrain as a distinct element which he preserves in its essential character and varies in his own peculiar way, while the latter more frequently discards the

refrain as a distinguishable quantity and distributes his modifications and his repetitions at will throughout the various verses of the stanza.

The fact that Mangan was familiar with Bürger's "Lenore" leads us to suspect that this poem may have exercised no slight influence on the style of his later poetry. But he was familiar with Coleridge's writings also. The lines in "The Saw-Mill" which tells that "The song of the tree"

> "Disturbed my spirit with pity,
> Began to subdue
> My spirit with tenderest pity,"

are plainly an echo of a line in Coleridge's "Love:"—

> "—His dying words—but when I reach'd
> That tenderest strain of all the ditty,
> My faltering voice and pausing harp
> Disturbed her soul with pity."

Knowing, then, the general nature of Mangan's poetry and the kind of literature that appealed to him with greatest force we need have no hesitation in asserting that few, if any, of the beauties of "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" escaped his notice.

The question whether Coleridge himself was influenced in some degree by Bürger has long been a subject of dispute, and its discussion is scarcely in place here. Yet, we may note in passing that Coleridge certainly knew of this poem and, in all probability admired it before a word of "The Ancient Mariner" was written. The evidence in favor of this statement, though not absolutely conclusive, is very strong. In a letter dated July 5, 1796, Lamb writing to Coleridge asked: "Have you read the ballad called 'Lenora' in the second number of the monthly magazine? If you have ! ! ! There is another fine song, from the same author (Bürger) in the third number, of scarce inferior merit." [3]

Again, Emile Legouis, in his book entitled *The Early Life of Wordsworth* (p. 421), referring to the time when "The

[3] *Letters of Charles Lamb*, vol. 1, p. 121. London, 1886.

Ancient Mariner" was in contemplation writes: "Coleridge was just then full of enthusiasm for Bürger's *Leonora* which had recently been translated into English." Legouis, however, brings forward no evidence in support of this statement.

If, on the other hand, we turn for a moment to Bürger and inquire into the sources of his inspirations we find that he was influenced to a considerable extent by the popular poetry of England, and especially by Percy's "Reliques." But according to his own statement he did not get his idea of "Lenore" from this or any other English source. Referring to the foreign influences on his poetry he wrote: "Das harte Mädchen, so wie das Lied an den Traumgott, haben, wenn ich mich recht erinnere, nur einige Stellen aus einem englischen Dichter, ich weiss wahrhaftig nicht mehr, aus welchem, entlehnt. Es ist aber immer auch möglich, dass sie ganz mein eigen sind. Adeline ist, dünkt mich, nach Parnell; das Dörfchen nach Bernard; die beiden Liebenden nach Rochon de Chabannes; das vergnügte Leben nach Grecourt; der Bruder Graurock, die Entführung, und des Schäfer's Liebeswerbung sind nach altenglischen Gedichten in Percy's bekannter Sammlung." [4]

But whatever may be said of the literary relations of Coleridge and Bürger, and of the latter's indebtedness to English "Volkspoesie," it is certain that Mangan owes much to the German poet. In addition to the points of contact which we have already considered, their respective theories of poetry run almost parallel. Mangan's theory has not been definitely formulated. It must be inferred from his actual practice, and from various scattered remarks. With him clearness and simplicity are prime requisites in poetry. "No luxuriance of imagination," he says, "can atone for the absence of perspicuity. A poet of all men should endeavor to make words the images of things." And again: "The best poetry is that which most resembles the best prose." [5] A study of his poetry will reveal the further fact that he considers as fundamental

[4] *Bürger's Werke*, Band III, 192. Göttingen, 1844.

[5] Quoted by O'Donoghue, *Life and Writings of James Clarence Mangan*, p. 99. Dublin, 1904.

the principle that literary art, to endure, must deal with experiences common to all men. Even the songs which he sings of Ireland, and which make their primary appeal to his countrymen are but outbursts of an emotion that is world-wide. And the somewhat mystical utterances so frequent in his pages are only colored pictures of phases of life that come within the observation of all men.

Bürger's ideas, though differently expressed, are substantially the same. "Popularität eines poetischen Werkes ist das Siegel seiner Vollkommenheit . . . . So kann ich doch nicht aufhören, die Poesie für eine Kunst zu halten, die zwar von Gelehrten, aber nicht für Gelehrte, als solche, sondern für das Volk ausgeübt werden muss." [6]

And quoting *The Spectator,* No. 70, he thus summarizes his views: "'Human nature is the same in all reasonable creatures; and whatever falls in with it, will meet with admirers amongst readers of all qualities and conditions.' Dies ist ungefähr meine Meinung von Volks-Poesie, und ich glaube zu wissen was ich sage." [7] Besides these points of resemblance, there are in both a frequent use of the narrative form and a constant accentuation of the supernatural, or at least of a non-material phase of existence.

With the exception of the quality of clearness,—which, of course, constitutes a radical difference,—there is little in these requirements that does not harmonize with Poe's expression of the "Poetic Principle." Indeed, even if Poe had not written a line of this essay, the whole body of his poems stands as an exemplification of the principle that poetry should not be circumscribed in its sphere by the limitations of time or place. It should be universal in its appeal. And following out these lines of development with too rigorous accuracy he erred in approaching too closely the extreme towards which he tended. As a consequence his poetry has no local color. It might have been written almost any place and at any time. Until his later years the same was true, in large measure, of Mangan. But his national poetry reveals the presence of the humanizing

[6] *Bürger's Werke,* Band III, 205. Göttingen, 1844. [7] *Ibid.,* p. 206.

elements, while at the same time evincing no lack of appropriate local color.

In considering the relation of Mangan and Poe it seems well to call attention to the latter's admiration of Coleridge, whose "Ancient Mariner," as we have seen, may have been the occasion of that peculiar poetic quality so intimately associated with Poe's name. "Of Coleridge," he writes, "I cannot speak but with reverence. His towering intellect! his gigantic power! . . . . In reading his poetry I tremble—like one who stands upon a volcano, conscious from the very darkness bursting from the crater, of the fire and the light that are weltering below." [8]

The facts which we have thus far considered may be summarized briefly as follows: In the poetry of Mangan and of Poe there exists a peculiar modification of the refrain, over and above a striking similarity of poetic content. A much less complicated form of the same peculiarity is to be found in Bürger and Coleridge as a slight advance on the still more simple refrain found in contemporary German poetry and in the earlier English and Scottish ballads of Percy's "Reliques." Bürger was familiar with this department of English literature, and, according to his own words, was influenced by it. Coleridge, in turn, knew Bürger's best work even before he wrote "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner." Mangan not only read the poems of these two authors, but was so attracted by them as to adopt something of the spirit and even of the phraseology of the one, and to translate selections from the other. Finally, Poe was a profound admirer of Coleridge even from his earliest years. The question, therefore, remains: What, if any, is the relation of interdependence between Mangan and Poe?

The dependence is certainly not mutual. The Irish poet owes nothing to his contemporary fellow literary artist in America, for his development of the "singing-over" habit antedates that of the latter by at least five years. "The Raven" was published in the *Evening Mirror* for the first

[8] Letter to B——. *Edgar A. Poe's Works*, vol. VII, p. xxxvii. New York, 1902.

time in January, 1845. It was Poe's earliest exemplification of the very quality which is generally recognized as his peculiar contribution to English poetry. "Eulalie" came out the same year in the July number of *The American Whig Review*. "Ulalume" also made its first appearance in this magazine, but not until December, 1847.

Mangan, on the contrary, had long before turned out specimens of this "curious and beautifully involved diction." In 1839, "The Time of the Barmecides" was published in the *Dublin University Magazine*. In 1840, it reappeared in the same publication, but this time "with embellishments and improvements." The peculiarity in this poem consists simply in the repetition of the last two lines of each stanza. A varying application of the same purpose is found in each of the following poems, all of which were written before it was possible for their author to have seen "The Raven":—"The Howling Song of Al-Mohara," "Twenty Golden Years Ago," and "Night is Falling," 1840; "The Ride Around the Parapet," 1842; "The Wail and Warning of the Three Khalendeers," "The Time ere the Roses were Blowing," and "The Karamanian Exile," 1844. Then almost simultaneously with "The Raven," came "The Wayfaring Tree" and "The Last Words of Al Hassan," in 1845; and finally, in 1846, Mangan's masterpiece, "Dark Rosaleen." While these poems exemplify his development in the particular regard in which we have been considering him, they are not the only ones which might be selected for the same purpose. Neither do they in all cases represent his best literary work; but they are more than sufficient to show that he did not draw the inspiration of his poetical achievements from Edgar Allan Poe.

On the other hand what is to be said in defence of the hypothesis that Poe saw and appropriated the invention of the Dublin poet? In support of such a conclusion, we must repeat, there is no direct evidence, and there is nothing incompatible or even unheard-of in the view that both poets arrived at practically the same results, working altogether independently of each other. But even granting that Poe was familiar not only

with Coleridge and the "Reliques" but with all the other sources as well that were open to Mangan, there still remains a high degree of probability that he knew the poetry of the latter and utilized it.

The *Dublin University Magazine,* in which most of Mangan's poems appeared during the years in question, was well known and frequently quoted in the United States. And it is scarcely conceivable that a man of Poe's keenness and extensive reading should have overlooked anything of merit in its pages. It was not in his nature or temperament to pass over anything new or unusual; and to his credit it may be truly said that nothing which underwent renovation or remodeling in his hands suffered by the process. Poe himself declared that he got the suggestion of "The Raven" from this line in "Lady Geraldine's Courtship:"

> "with a murmurous stir uncertain in the air
> the purple curtain," etc.[9]

But when he asserts in "The Philosophy of Composition" that such a combination of verses into stanzas as that presented in "The Raven," or anything even remotely approaching it, had never been attempted,[10] he makes a severe demand on our power to assent. Had he never read any of the various verses to which we have just referred? Or was a critic of Poe's ability and pretensions unacquainted with a publication so well known and so important as the *Dublin University Magazine?*

Again Poe's "combinations" were accomplished only after Mangan's experiments had been confided to the public. And then, unlike the latter's development, which was normal and gradual, the almost abrupt determination to introduce a new feature into his poetry has all the appearance of a sudden discovery rather than an original invention.

A glance at the history of the poem entitled "Lenore" throws some light on this subject. The title itself is, strangely enough, the same as that which forms the subject of Bürger's famous

[9] *Poe's Works,* vol. VII, p. 288, Virginia Edition. New York, 1902.
[10] *Poe's Works,* vol. XIV, p. 203. New York, 1902.

ballad. "Lenore" did not exist in the present form until its publication in the "Broadway Journal," 1846. Under the title "A Pæan" it was included in the edition of 1831. But here it is made up of eleven four-line stanzas, and bears only slight resemblance to its latest form. "The Pioneer," of February, 1843, presents a version which, with the exception of a change in the order of verses, and a few other details, differs from the final form only in the absence of the characteristic refrain. The poet's idea may be seen by placing side by side the first stanzas of the two last versions. The first runs thus:

"Ah broken is the golden bowl!
The spirit flown forever!
Let the bell toll! a saintly soul
Glides down the Stygian river!
And let the burial rite be read—
The funeral song be sung—
A dirge for the most lovely dead
That ever died so young!
And Guy De Vere,
Hast thou no tear?
Weep now or nevermore!
See on yon drear
And rigid bier,
Low lies thy love Lenore!"

With this compare the following:

"Ah broken is the bowl! the spirit flown forever!
Let the bell toll!—a saintly soul floats on the Stygian River!
And, Guy De Vere, hast thou no tear? weep now or nevermore!
See! on yon drear and rigid bier low lies thy love, Lenore!
Come, let the burial rite be read—the funeral song be sung!
An anthem for the queenliest dead that ever died so young—
A dirge for her the doubly dead in that she died so young."

Now, it is possible that Poe introduced into his verse not the discovery of another, but the invention of his own genius. In literature, however, as in other departments of human activity, we are slow to ascribe to genius a product that can be accounted for by less extraordinary means. He had been studying English poetry from childhood. Did he suddenly discover there some new singing quality which before had escaped his

notice? It is not at all impossible that he did so; but it is far more probable that he read and admired and appropriated the new verse-forms of the Dublin poet, which were lying before his eyes.

But supposing for a moment that he did get inspiration from this source, his appropriations did not consist of blind imitation. His modifications were in some respects improvements on Mangan's forms. This very difference, however, only strengthens the probability of his dependence; for, viewing the verse of both poets in the light of the distinction already made in their respective use of phrase and line repetition, Mangan's contribution clearly holds a middle place between the simple refrain of earlier poetry and the more delicate and "subtle tautology" of Poe's verse combinations.

JOHN J. O'BRIEN.

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS,
ST. PAUL, MINN.

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

The Teaching of Religion.

The chief dependence of the young child is, of course, on the teacher; if she fail, no text-book can make amends; if her method be faulty, the best conceivable text-book will fall short of good results. And in the hands of a capable teacher any text-book may be lifted above its worst defects. While all this is true, nevertheless it should not be allowed to obscure the fact that a text-book has a legitimate and an important function to perform in the child's unfolding life. When the text-book is faulty, a needless burden is placed upon the teacher and a needless impediment is put in the way of the child's mental development. Moreover, the teacher's method and the method embodied in the text-book employed should harmonize; friction here, as elsewhere, is wasteful. And, as too often happens, when the text-book is constructed on wrong lines, the teacher, in spite of her own better judgment, is likely to grow tired of the struggle and to fall into line with the method embodied in the text-book. She usually finds that to do otherwise is both a difficult and a thankless task. The text-book and its method are known and they fix the standard by which her work is almost certain to be measured.

In the educative process, therefore, it is a matter of the very highest importance that the text-books placed in the hands of the children embody sound method and be as free as may be from violations of the laws governing the child's unfolding life. Now, one of the most pernicious and fundamental errors of the prevalent text-books for primary and grammar grades is the segregation of the various elements in the child's mental content at a time when his chief need is close correlation. The blight of extreme specialization has, in our schools, been carried down to an early period in the educative process and proper

correlation is absent from the very first grade up through the entire system.

The text-books in arithmetic have been constructed for the sole purpose of teaching the child number. That the content of the text-book could possibly minister to the child's mental life in any other way does not seem to have occurred to the compilers of the great majority of the text-books in this department of human knowledge. And yet there is no conceivable reason why the text-book in arithmetic should not minister to the child's growing power in the mastery of language, nor is there any valid reason why it should not give the children, instead of impossible, hypothetical facts, items of real knowledge which would prove valuable to them in their study of geography, history, commerce and industry. As a matter of fact, Professor Smith, has given us text-books in which this latter end has been attained. Those who have used the books are aware of their advantages. But why stop here? The principle might be pushed much further with profit even in arithmetic. And what shall we say of the other branches? Obviously, every text-book in the school should help the child to master written language and whatever the specific topic, every lesson in a primary or grammar grade should be a language lesson at the same time.

It is hard to realize in this busy work-a-day world, where so many demands are being made on the children's time in order that they may be properly prepared to take their part in the complex civilization of our day, that so much of their time should be occupied in memorizing the names of generals and the dates of battles and the lines of shifting political boundaries while they are left in ignorance of the great economic forces which have played such a leading rôle in the development of the nations of the world and in determining national characteristics and in fixing the boundary of empire.

The development of the natural and the physical sciences have in our day completely transformed the world in which we live. The children in our schools must be prepared to enter this arena. If they enter it with a knowledge of nature's

forces and with eyes that are capable of discerning the various applications of these forces to the processes of industry and to the wellbeing of society, they may readily conquer their environment and bend the forces of inanimate nature to their will and enlist them in the service of mankind. If, on the contrary, they enter the industrial arena without such knowledge, their efforts are ineffectual and their lives are likely to be lived out in an ever-increasing subjection to matter and to the forces of the material universe. What are our schools doing to meet this situation? Are the children led into the heart of nature and gradually familiarized with her phenomena and the underlying laws that govern them, or are they fed on scraps of pseudo-science under the name of nature study, physiology for primary grades, etc.?

There is a growing realization of the facts that our children are losing reverence for old age, for their parents, for family and national traditions, for religious beliefs, that there is an enormous increase in juvenile crime in our cities, that there is a general decay of patriotism, a growing tendency to dishonesty in public office, an increasing disregard for law, and that the family is suffering greatly from the loosening of its bonds. But in spite of all this very little is done in our schools to remedy the matter. The social side of the child's life is neglected or left a prey to the hap-hazard theory of each individual teacher. There are no text-books available in which the matter is dealt with intelligently and systematically.

Considerable effort is being expended on the development of the child's æsthetic faculties, but for the most part there is a very sad lack of coördination. We have special supervisors of art and special systems of drawing and painting are pushed with vigor. And the same may be said of the teaching of music and singing. But we have not yet reached the place where the æsthetic element has entered into the life of the school to touch and transform all its processes. Art and music are frequently little more than holiday attire which is put on by the children for a brief period each day and laid aside before the 'serious' matters of the program are taken up.

A great deal of time is spent in reading drills and yet the schools graduate few intelligent readers. The reason is obvious. The prevalent method emphasizes the form and neglects the matter. Our schools seem to be pervaded by a deathless superstition concerning the teaching of literature. The children are given fragments from a hundred authors and it is devoutly believed that these samples will suffice to cultivate a lasting taste for the authors in question. It is taken for granted that the mind of the pupil filled with this multitude of literary samples will be possessed of literary power and will have control of 'good expression.'

In religious instruction the child fares no better. The text-book in use is for the most part a catechism of Christian Doctrine cast in the dryest of didactic forms and completely isolated from all the other subjects of the curriculum. The thought is abstract in the extreme and it is couched in language for which the child has no preparation either proximate or remote. There is no attempt made to build up in the child-mind vigorous apperception masses capable of aiding in the assimilation of the religious thought. The book seems designed solely for the production of a verbal memory product and as if there were a consciousness somewhere that this was the only end possible of attainment. The whole stress is laid on the form of question and answer which will facilitate a test of the capacity of the pupil's memory. On the practical side the work is no better. The content is not shaped so as to lead directly or immediately to conduct or to the formation of habits of thought and action. Back of this method there seems to be an incredible belief in the power of memorized formulæ to translate themselves at a later period into vital elements in the conduct of the adult.

A reform in the text-books for the primary grades is urgently needed. The first step to be accomplished is evidently a close correlation of the various elements in the curriculum. Unity in the mental content must be preserved until such time, at least, as sufficient maturity has been reached to devote exclusive attention to the separate departments of human knowl-

edge. It is high time that the children should reap some of the benefits to be derived from the recent rapid developments in genetic psychology and cognate branches.

The Child's First Book.

Religion, First Book, is the first of a series of text-books in which it has been sought to embody in concrete form the educational doctrines outlined in this series of articles. In the preparation of these text-books Our Lord's method of teaching has been kept constantly in view and the principles underlying it have been adhered to throughout. The details and the concrete settings of the lessons have been adapted to the needs of the children of the present generation. In this adjustment differences in mental content and in mental environment have, naturally, been taken into account, nor have the findings of science been ignored.

As the title of the First Book indicates, Religion is the central and dominant element of its teaching. Many of the fundamental truths of religion are here presented to the child in a form suited to his capacity. He is taught to know and to love Our Saviour and through Him he is led to a knowledge and love of the Father. He is taught the Lord's Prayer, not merely as so many words and phrases to be recited night and morning, but the meaning of several of its petitions is developed so as to reach his intelligence and control his actions. He learns to look upon his Father in Heaven with confidence; he learns to love Him and to rely upon His answering love. His intellect, his imagination and his will, as well as his lips, say Our Father who art in Heaven, give us this day our daily bread, lead us not into temptation, deliver us from evil. A large portion of the Apostles' Creed is taught to him in a way that cannot fail to cause the seeds of these divine truths to take root and grow in his life. The following articles of the Creed will be found developed in this little book: I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ,

His only Son, Our Lord, who was born of the Virgin Mary. In the final chapter of the book the Nativity scene is presented and the child's attention is turned towards our Saviour as the future model of his imitative activity.

This is a large religious content to be imparted to the child during his first year at school, particularly if it be borne in mind that according to the principles laid down no truth should be presented to the child until he is ready to assimilate it. And, indeed, if this body of religious truth were presented to the child isolated from his every-day experience and from the other lines of his development, it would be quite impossible for him to do more with it than to convert it into an unassimilable memory load.

Religion, First Book, is not merely the child's first book in religion, it is at the same time his first reader, his first nature study book, and it unfolds the germ of his institutional life and lays the foundation of his aesthetic development along three distinct lines, viz., form, color, and rhythm. But to any one who will give careful consideration to this book it will be at once evident that it is more than a volume containing nature studies, domestic scenes, reading lessons, half-tone and colored pictures, religious stories, and songs adapted to the child's capacity; these are all contained in the book, but they are woven together in such a way as to form integral parts of one whole. It is a First Reader, and its value as such instead of being impaired is enhanced four-fold by the fact that it speaks to the child of home, of the familiar objects of his environment, of his relationship to Jesus Christ and to his Heavenly Father, and that the text is illumined for the child by a series of beautiful pictures which tell the same story while they awaken the child's love for the beautiful, and finally that its lessons are summed up in songs in which are employed simple words and rhythms suited to the child's capacity. In other words, the claim is here made that each of the five essential elements of a Catholic education can be developed better in the young child by being interwoven with the other four than if the attempt were made to develop it separately. The book is named Re-

ligion, consequently, not because it deals with religion exclusively, but because religion is the most important element which it contains and because all the other elements of the child's mental content are made subordinate to religion, both in arrangement of material and in emphasis. Religion thus becomes the basis of the child's education, the germ from which all else is made to unfold, and this is as it should be in a Catholic education where everything should be made to lead to God and be used as a means of attaining eternal life.

In the diagram on the title-page of Religion, First Book, (essentially a star within a circle with an inner circle drawn through the five points of divergence of the star rays) which has been adopted as the motto of this series of text-books, the close interdependence of the five essential elements of a Catholic education has been set forth. These five elements are there named Science, Letters, Aesthetics, Institutions, Religion. Each of these elements is represented by a ray of the star. The area of the inner circle formed by the superimposed bases of the five rays represents the child's development up to adolescence. The outer circle, in which the rays terminate, marks the thirtieth year, or the period at which development along all lines usually ceases. The close interdependence during the first twelve or fourteen years in the child's life of the five essential elements is indicated in this diagram by the fact that the star rays during this period occupy the same area. The growths in knowledge which in the child's mind begin at about the fourteenth year to replace the corresponding development of the earlier period are indicated in the diagram by the five areas bounded by the outer circle and the diverging borders of the star rays.

The term 'Science' as used in this diagram is meant to include the sum total of the child's knowledge of his physical environment together with his established adjustments to the various objects which it contains. 'Letters' includes language, oral and written, together with a knowledge of human achievements transmitted to the child through the instrumentality of language. 'Institutions' includes the child's knowl-

edge of social institutions such as the Home, the Church and the State, together with his established modes of reacting towards them. 'Aesthetics' includes the child's power of recognizing and reacting towards beauty in all its essential forms, while 'Religion' includes not only the child's knowledge of Christian Doctrine, but what is of far greater importance, the building up in the light of Revealed Truth of all his conscious life as a member of the Catholic Church.

Since the teaching of religion is the chief function of Religion, First Book, it will serve our purpose best to consider it in the first instance in the capacity of the child's first book in religion. In this we must consider not only the religious element as such, but all the other elements of the book in so far as they enter into the lessons in religion. The book contains five parts each of which begins with a nature study and terminates in two songs. The nature study prepares the child for a lesson in home duties and both of these lessons are made the preparation and the background for a New Testament scene in which some fundamental truth of religion is presented in a concrete and attractive setting. The five parts of the book deal with the five fundamental instincts which determine the child's attitude towards his parents. The attempt is made to transform these instincts which the child shares with the higher animals and which are in their nature essentially selfish into the unselfish and fundamental virtues of a Christian life.

The child's instinctive reliance upon his parents for love is dealt with in the first part. This essentially selfish attitude is transformed into the natural basis of Christian charity through the contemplation of the self-sacrificing love of the parents. Through this means the child is gradually led into an understanding of God's love for him and gratitude together with an answering love are developed in his heart. Thus appropriate feeling, which is the first essential element in the process of assimilating truth, is developed in the child's consciousness. With his heart full of loving confidence he approaches God as a child would approach the most loving father. In such a soul the germs of Divine Truth readily

unfold and bear their rich fruit of Christian virtue. "Unless you become as one of these you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

A picture series tells the same story that is recorded in the text. The nature studies and the domestic scenes are in half-tones; the Biblical scenes are in color, which serves to emphasize the religious element and to render it the most attractive part of the lesson to the child. Moreover, the half-tone pictures call to the child's memory of past sensory experience and lead to observation and actual verification in his subsequent experience. Hence the half-tones leave a larger room for the personal element in the child's mental operations. The Biblical scenes, on the other hand, are remote from the child's experience, either past or in the immediate future, hence they require the fullest detail and the strongest appeal to the child's senses.

The philosophy underlying the nature study scenes with which each part of this book begins will be dealt with more fully elsewhere, here it is sufficient to call to mind the psychological truth that interest resides exclusively in the twilight zone which separates clear knowledge from complete ignorance. Neither the child nor the man is interested in that which is wholly familiar until it is presented in some new light or in some unaccustomed setting. "Therefore, every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven, is like to a man that is a householder who bringeth forth out of his treasure, new things and old." (Matt. XIII, 52.)

The child learns by living alternately at the opposite poles of his growing mental life. He observes the actions of others and the attitudes of his parents, but he begins to understand their meaning only when he clothes himself in these attitudes and acts them out in a scene of his own making. The child, however, is not interested in the familiar home scenes, nor can he be brought to clothe himself in the parental attitude until there is presented to him, either to his imagination or to his senses, some object upon which he can clothe his own personality. Thus the doll helps the child to develop the maternal instinct by enabling her to clothe herself in her mother's atti-

tude and to perform all those actions towards her doll which she has observed her mother to perform towards her. A younger child sometimes serves the same purpose and the whole household drama may be observed in the play of younger children. Similarly, the teacher's attitudes are frequently copied in the play of the young pupils. But it should be observed that the child's imagination is seldom equal to the task of transforming her mother into her baby for the purposes of play.

Children come from home where the essential relationships between father, mother and children are too familiar to hold their interest and they are led in the nature study which constitutes the first part of each chapter to contemplate these same relationships in the lives of the birds. Here all is new. The scenes are portrayed in pictures which leave the child's imagination free and which appeal to their dramatic and constructive impulses. Advantages, be it noted, which are not present in those nature studies where the theme is first approached in an actual scene in bird life.

Again, the essential truths of home cannot easily be revealed to the child in the home-life of his companions, because of the complexity of its outer aspect which obscures for him the springs of its inner action. In the story of the robins, as presented here, on the contrary, home freed from detail with its essential elements standing out in bold relief fills the child's imagination and finds a ready entrance to his intelligence.

The first nature scene opens with a picture of two robins looking for their breakfast. The written story runs "Here are Mr. and Mrs. Robin. They are on the grass. They give three hops. They give three chirps. They look around and begin again. Good morning, Mr. Robin. Good morning, Mrs. Robin. Are you looking for your breakfast?" In this simple story the child is brought face to face with the elementary duty imposed upon all children of Adam: "In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread." The children will read the story with pleasure and dramatize it with delight. Through acting the part of Mr. and Mrs. Robin, the meaning of the story is made to fill their senses and their imaginations, and it is organized in their muscles.

This plan should be followed in each of the lessons of the book. Details will be presented elsewhere. It would be difficult to overestimate the value in the educative process of the truths which Bishop Bellord emphasizes so strongly in his *Religious Education and its Failures,* from which we quote the following: "It is very possible to store impressions in the sense memory and not in the intellect; in the intellect and not in the conscience, and in the affections even and not in the will. Further, it is even possible for the will to have stored its impressions so as to be able to reproduce its determinations and yet fail in carrying them into effect, for the reason that action has not been trained, and that action impressions have not been stored so as to create facility of reproduction."

The second picture presents the robins building their nest. The labor involved is not for the birds themselves but for others. The father and mother robin work to build a home for their little ones. Parental love is the dominant tone and supplies the motive for the labor of the birds. "The baby robins are asleep under mother's wings. They are cozy and warm." In this concrete form there is planted in the child's mind the germ of the great fundamental truth on which all civilization and its institutions rest. Home exists for the children. The parents labor that the children may possess. With this fundamental truth of home life there is planted in the child's consciousness the germ of a second truth "like unto the first," *i. e.,* the love of father and mother for each other. "Their father is on the branch beside the nest. He does not want their mother to be lonely."

Finally, the idea of something higher than home is suggested. "When the day's work is done, he sings a song. It is his evening prayer." This suggestion of an over-ruling Providence is still further emphasized for the child and its meaning brought home to him more vividly by the picture of little Samuel at prayer.

From this study of the home life of the robins the child returns to his own home with eyes that have learned to see things in its hidden depths which would otherwise have re-

mained obscure to him. He now perceives the old familiar things of home in a new light. Having clothed himself in the parental attitude, while playing the part of the father bird or the mother bird in the procuring of food, the building of the nest and in the loving care of the little ones, he is prepared to understand something of the love that dwells in his parents' hearts and he goes out to meet it with an answering love. Moreover, the contrast and background of the robin's home gives him an added appreciation of his own home, of its beauty and comfort, and of the supreme value of its central feature, love. After this there is for him a new meaning and a new sweetness in the nest of mother's arms, which is brought out and rendered explicit in the first of the domestic scenes. Father's welcome home, the second of the domestic scenes, is intended to prepare the children to understand the story of Christ blessing little children. In this lesson the children are made to realize that their true happiness lies in the love and confidence which they bring to their parents and in the answering love which enfolds them. The lesson that is taught in school in this case is put into practice in the home. "They tell him everything they did all day. They ask him for everything they want. They tell him over and over again how much they love him." The habit of bringing to their parents all their concerns and of reposing complete confidence in them in all their necessities and of giving expression to their love having been thus built up in early childhood will not fail to be a safeguard against many moral dangers in later years.

There is another feature of these lessons that should not be lost sight of: they serve to bridge over the chasm between the home and the school. The lessons taught in school receive a fuller meaning in the home and bear a rich harvest of fruit there both for the children and for their parents. The break between the home and the school is one of the greatest obstacles to the child's normal development in school. This is particularly obtrusive in the work of the first primary grade and many means of overcoming it have been suggested. It is

evident that if the child's best interests are to be served the continuity of the home life and the school life must be preserved. In these lessons a long step in that direction is taken and in this the parents are the gainers as well as the children.

In the father's welcome home there is a suggestion to the parents and to the children which, if carried out, can scarcely fail to prove helpful in the preservation of home ties. Home is primarily for the children. It cannot long endure their absence. A father's heart can seldom withstand the pleadings of his child's love and the home that is brightened by the presence of loving, dutiful children is a haven of rest to the weary toiler. Moreover, it is through the relationship of father to child that the child comes into an understanding of his heavenly Father's love for him and of the joy that is the portion of all who love and serve God as a most dear Father. The children are now prepared for the New Testament scene and for the purely religious part of the work, which will be dealt with in the next number of the *Bulletin*.

Current Criticisms of the Public Schools.

The volume of criticism of the public schools that has recently made its appearance in our educational and popular magazines is directed for the most part to the grammar schools and the high schools, but it is evident that the evils complained of are not restricted to our institutions of elementary and secondary education. These institutions labor under many defects which are peculiar to themselves, but there are many deep-seated evils which extend to the entire system including the colleges and universities. And the colleges and universities have limitations of their own which do not so immediately affect secondary education. Dr. James P. Monroe, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in an article entitled The Specialist Blight on American Education, in the *Popular Science Monthly* for October, 1908, tells some very plain truths about the present trend of our university life and levels some very sharp criticisms at some features of higher education in

American universities. While Professor Monroe deals directly with practices that are prevalent in our universities, what he says is full of wholesome suggestion for those who are responsible for the policies pursued in our elementary and secondary schools. The article should be widely read and we shall have occasion to make copious extracts from it.

"Specialism is the order of the day. From the professor of Greek down to the 'professor' who shines one's shoes, that man is in demand who is disposed to concentrate all his energies upon the learning or the doing of one thing. Even our households have become infected, for therein is now to be found the very apotheosis of specialization. Even so late as the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, one maid would do substantially all the work of the house; whereas, to-day, the lady who condescends to burn one's beafsteak and to parboil one's potatoes will not enter the laundry or the dining-room, while the other maid (or maids) would join the family in general starvation before so far forgetting her 'place' as to cook a single meal. But what can be expected of the rank and file of the modern world when the leaders of American life, men in the professions and in those higher institutions which prepare for the professions, have seemingly gone mad upon the question of specialization? Like the gypsy-moth, the specialist was imported from Europe, either directly or through young men who went there for medical, linguistic or other higher studies; and many a green tree of scholarship, many a fair, broad field of general culture has been converted by this importation into a naked waste of narrow pedantry."

The specialist has accomplished great things in modern science and the German universities have trained a race of specialists who have pushed forward the boundaries of human knowledge over many new fields of natural truth. The results of their labors have not been barren; the practical applications of the findings of pure science in our own day have lifted many a burden from human shoulders and have brought hitherto undreamed of comforts to the multitude, but the elementary and secondary education of these men was conducted along the

broad lines of culture by teachers who were thoroughly equipped for their work. We have imported specialists from Europe, both directly and indirectly, but in the latter case at least it may be questioned whether we have imported the genuine article. We have begun with the branches and the ripening fruit but have neglected to prepare the root and the trunk. That specialization is necessary to-day every one admits, but if it is to be fruitful it must presuppose in the specialist a broad foundation of general culture. No one is better aware of this fact than Professor Monroe, and he makes his meaning very clear when he says:

"Of course, the time has gone by when any man, no matter how brilliant, can, in Bacon's words, 'take all learning for his province.' But that does not justify the running to an opposite extreme, does not excuse the digging of a hole in the side of a small mound of erudition, getting into the farthest end of it, and maintaining that the tiny patch of sky framed by the mouth of the hole is all of the universe worth while. It is probably necessary that some man should spend his whole life grubbing at a certain obstinate Greek root; but why call him learned, when he is simply industrious? Why reward him with titles and emoluments, and give no scholastic encouragement to the far less erudite man who is nevertheless sending intellectual and moral roots over a wide area of human thought and life?"

Quite true, but it is not as evident that the two things are irreconcilable; they have been combined before now and they are still combined in the really productive scholars of our day. Cardinal Newman stated the case very aptly when he defined a scholar as a man who knows something about everything and everything about some one thing. The living organism gives us the natural law governing the situation. Each organ in the body is differentiated for the more efficient performance of its special function, but were it so constructed that it failed to receive and profit by the special work of all the other organs it would soon lose its efficiency. Definite knowledge gained through the senses and through individual experience consti-

tutes the nucleus which enables the mind to receive and to profit by the work of other minds. And it is the business of elementary and secondary education so to develop this broad cultural basis that will enable the student to receive the light of truth from widely divergent fields and to bring it to bear on the immediate problem of present interest. If in addition to this the student is properly equipped to deal with some hitherto unexplored field of truth, he is entitled to take rank among the builders of science and the teachers of mankind. Society has no emoluments to offer that are too large, no honors that are too great for such a man.

At first sight it might seem that the man who has such a broad cultural training that he may gather into his mind the truths that have been already established in widely divergent fields of human progress is properly equipped to engage in the work of higher education, even though he be totally lacking in the technical equipment which would enable him to add one iota in any line of investigation, but on closer view it may be seen that such a man lacks at least one essential of the proper equipment for fruitful teaching, at least for the fruitful teaching of maturer minds. A recognition of the need of this fecundity in the teacher of mature minds renders it impossible for us to wholly agree with Professor Monroe when he says:

"The curse of American scholarship and of American education is the Ph. D. For in exalting this decoration of the specialist, we are repeating the error of the Schoolmen, who confounded erudition, which dries up the soul, with real wisdom, which expands man into almost the very image of the All-Wise. Yet this hall-mark of erudition is to-day practically essential as a key to a faculty position; and it is so, not because there seems any valid educational reason for it, but largely because it is required in Germany and looks well in the prospectus."

The Professor's acquaintance with the Schoolmen and their work is evidently somewhat limited. These scholars were anything but narrow specialists; they came much nearer to Bacon's ideal of taking all learning for their province. Of course they

were but laying the foundations; their resources were comparatively meager, but it will tax modern scholarship severely to produce men with as broad a spirit, or men capable of accomplishing so much with resources as limited as theirs. But Professor Monroe is not directly concerned with the Schoolmen or their work. His statement that there is no valid educational reason for the Ph. D. degree as an essential requisite for a faculty position in our colleges is, however, a matter which concerns us immediately, and we do not find ourselves in a position to agree with him. It is not the Ph. D. degree but the abuse of it that should be reprobated; it is not the having of a Ph. D. degree but the granting of it to men who are not properly equipped for a position in a college or university faculty that is deserving of censure. Where the Ph. D. degree means what it should mean, it is a guarantee of the specialist's equipment in some one line of research work, but in addition to this it is a guarantee of a liberal education and broad culture, for without this the specialist's training is both premature and injurious. It is, in reality, with this premature and injudicious specialization that Professor Monroe is quarreling and in this we heartily agree with him. Moreover, few who are acquainted with the actual situation will be disposed to question the prevalence of this unwise specialization in our American universities. In order to get the coveted Ph. D. degree, Professor Monroe says truthfully that hundreds of young fellows are starving themselves and impoverishing their parents. "To get it, they are pursuing so-called special investigations, by counting the number of adverbial clauses in Shakespeare, or by sending out questionnaires regarding the proportion of children who twiddle their thumbs. Having scraped together this fatuous information, they are spending much time and money in having it printed, in order that another doctoral dissertation may be added to the dustiest shelves of the college library. And these most precious years of a man's life, these years in which the youth ought to be learning how to broaden his mind and capacity, how to deal with men, how to handle his faculties, his tongue and himself—these the poor fellow is selling

for this mess of pottage with which to feed the trustees of some lesser or greater university. Having been admitted to the teaching staff of the university, the fledgeling Ph. D. if he is to hold his place, must produce something and that quickly. But since his days, as a subordinate teacher, are mainly taken up in such intellect-killing work as correcting thousands of themes or counting the apparatus in the laboratory, how is he to get that breadth, experience and wisdom which alone can make what he is expected to produce of any value to the world? Half-starved physically and wholly starved intellectually and socially, his only alternative is to specialize still more, digging, like a woodpecker, into some wormhole of erudition in the hope of extracting from it a maggot large enough to placate the learned university public accustomed thus to be fed by young Doctors of Philosophy. This digging is politely called research; but it is the sorriest counterfeit of the genuine thing, being but perfunctory and profitless grubbing. True research must be founded upon wide scholarship, upon profound knowledge of men, and upon extensive acquaintance with the world of letters and of things. To compel such callow men as these to specialize is to condemn them to intellectual suicide and in so doing to kill true scholarship."

There is little to disagree with in all this. Specialization without a broad basis of receptive scholarship is not education and it should not entitle any man to a position in a university faculty or to the emoluments of scholarship and above all it should not entitle him to shape educational policies which affect the lives of all our people. That the number of these callow specialized men in our university faculties is very large, and daily growing larger, is the really alarming fact. In this view also we are in entire agreement with Professor Monroe. "But it is these men, as a rule, who become professors and heads of departments, it is they who determine the atmosphere and the trend of the colleges, it is this type of specialist who is setting the standard of learning and of scholarship for America."

It is not in our universities and colleges alone that these dwarfed and narrow specialists exert their influence and set

up their narrow standards. Within the last few decades our universities have assumed the control of education outside their immediate sphere. There is a well-defined movement on the part of the universities to control both secondary and elementary education. This is done in various ways. First through a system of affiliations by which those schools that allow themselves to be governed by the university ideals are allowed to send their pupils without examination into the university. Secondly, universities are assuming control of the professional training of the teachers for the institutions of lower grade. Finally, they are producing the text-books and the professional literature that is going into all our schools. In this way, for good or for evil, the university population puts its stamp upon all our schools and sets up its ideal as that towards which all workers in the field of education must strive. For this reason every teacher and every pupil and every parent who sends his children to a public school of any grade is personally concerned with the character of the men who are chosen to fill positions in our university faculties. That these men must be specialists is very generally agreed, and this not merely because it looks well in the catalogue or because men holding similar positions in Germany are specialists, but because a man who is building the structure of truth in any science speaks to his pupils with authority. The divine fire of enthusiasm which carries him on to successful achievement will light similar fires in the breasts of the pupils who gather around him. No man of mere erudition, however wide, no man of mere experience, however extended, but whose systematic knowledge has come to him wholly from others, can ever take the place of the real specialist. With this contention the Professor will hardly take issue, for he says. "There are only two kinds of simon-pure specialists allowable: the genius who has such a volume of treasure to bestow that every minute of his life should be devoted to dispensing it; and the man who is given the power of concentrated digging and who is vouchsafed no other ability. The latter will grub out the absolutely essential minutiae without which learning cannot advance. The former will call down

from heaven those divine fires which are to keep civilization aflame. The number of these specialists, however, is, in comparison with the university population, infinitesimal; and the great mass of educated men need, not concentration, but expansion, an intellectual highway, not a groove. Of course, every man who hopes to amount to anything must specialize in some degree. He must have a vocation and must strive towards the highest achievement in that specialty, but he must have in addition, avocations to broaden and harmonize and sweeten him; and even his vocation must be founded upon such a knowledge of men and of life that—at least before his fortieth year—he could take up any other vocation and succeed in that."

If Professor Monroe is correct in his statement that the number of real specialists in our university population is infinitesimal, and we suspect that he is not far from the truth, the fact is deplorable indeed. But this would not justify us in despairing of a remedy unless we hold, as the Professor seems to, that the specialist is a genius who is born and not made and whose flight is seldom directed towards this earth.

It is the business of a university to form specialists of both orders mentioned by the Professor, and there is in reality not so wide a difference between them as he would have us believe. Genius comes very near being the power to work. Concentrated grubbing, if it is directed along proper lines and into broadening fields, will seldom fail to produce the real research worker whose life and work are an inspiration to all with whom he comes in contact. But in his production care must be taken to develop his receptive powers first. He must have a liberal education of the right kind that will give him broad sympathies with his fellow men in every walk of life and with the workers in every field of research. If he is allowed to specialize before he has reached maturity in this way, failure and narrowness will be the inevitable results. This is in reality the core of the whole difficulty. We have attempted to make specialists out of a multitude of young men who lack maturity of judgment and the right kind of a liberal education and these

men are now dominating our universities and shaping their educational policies, and what is still more deplorable, they are dominating our colleges and high schools. "The college teaching of literature, for example, is being dried and mummified by specialists until the study of human thought has become a sort of subterranean, philological treadmill, with never a glimpse into the wide, high, lasting things to which literature should lead. College philosophy is, as a rule, but a comparative anatomy of dead and gone systems, never, as it should be, an inspiration to wisdom, leading to the love of and search for truth. And how seldom is the teaching of science a real search into fundamental principles and an exposition of all-embracing truths!" We quite agree with the Professor in this. "'Tis true, and pity 'tis 'tis true." But it is true simply because narrow and uncultured specialists too frequently hold the chairs of science in our universities. It has been taken for granted by university presidents and boards of regents that any man who knows chemistry is competent to teach chemistry, as if any one were competent to teach anything in a university who is wanting in genuine culture and in broad scholarship.

"It may be an exaggeration to say that American scholarship is in a deplorable condition; but every American must acknowledge that we do not produce our due proportion of great men. There are, of course, many excuses which may properly be offered; but one of the fundamental reasons is that we permit our promising youth to specialize too soon. Consequently their scholarship, to paraphrase Bacon, is that of boys, who can talk but who cannot generate. To produce men with the loins from which will spring great contributions to human thought and action we must gradually make over our whole system of elementary education so that youth, instead of being put through vast machines for imparting facts, shall be put into small classes under intellectually strong women, and especially under intellectually and morally strong men, who shall really develop that boy's mind and character. We must then persuade the college authorities not to turn callow undergraduates into a jungle of courses taught by specialists, but to

lay out for those boys really developing and strengthening coherent work which shall make them acquainted, as far as they can learn at that time of life, with men, society, philosophy and genuine wisdom."

But the question is how are we going to get 'college authorities' competent to map out the right kind of education for our youth if they themselves are tainted with the 'specialist blight'? In last analysis our one need is the teacher with a real vocation for teaching and not a hireling, who, from the time he doffed his knickerbockers was pushed through an educational machine with the sole aim of acquiring a Ph. D. degree as soon as possible so that he might be eligible for a position in a college or a university faculty.

But if our colleges and universities are suffering from the wrong kind of teacher, what must be said of our elementary and secondary schools? And if the university presents the spectacle of a 'jungle' of electives, what is to be said of the grammar school that loads its pupils with a multitude of segregated courses? The child-mind is fed on unrelated fragments of truth at a time when its one need is unity. When he should be taught to see the underlying truths that link together the diverse phenomena that fill his senses, he is loaded with facts and verbal statements which leave no room in his growing mind for the food on which his life and future fecundity depend.

The university professor is, alas, too often a narrow specialist whose faculties were blighted by premature specialization. But men of even narrow calibre have abandoned the work of teaching in our grammar schools and they are rapidly leaving the field to women even in the high schools. What chance, therefore, is there that the generation of boys who are being instructed in our elementary and secondary schools will furnish forth their quota of thinkers and teachers, what chance is there that they will be given that broad culture and that divine hunger for truth which should characterize the real specialist 'who will call down fire from heaven'?

In the *American Magazine* for November, William Lee

Howard, M. D., in an article entitled "Helpless Youths and Useless Men, Are they the Result of False Education? deals with conditions in our elementary and secondary schools from a medical standpoint. He tells some very unpalatable truths which should prove helpful in remedying present conditions. The Doctor does not address himself to the technical educationist, but clothes his thoughts in language that cannot be misunderstood by the masses of the people whose children are being educated in the public schools. It is cast in the form of a dialogue between the Doctor and the father of a hopeless graduate of a high school.

"Doctor, what is the matter with my son? Is he stupid or lazy? Is he degenerate?"

"Neither stupid nor degenerate, but helpless because he has grown up to eighteen years of age uninstructed; unskilled in anything that will make for a successful career. He needs educating."

"But, Doctor, he has had the best we could give him; he has just graduated from the high school."

"Doubtless, but consider for a moment the injustice that has been done your son. The curriculum at the American high school is not one for a democratic country; it gives a certain privileged number of youths—a very small number—a preparation for college entrance. But how about the boy who is to start in business, trade or industrial occupation? Does *he* get a four-year course preparatory to this work? You have come to me for professional advice about your son. You say he can find no position that suits him; nothing to do. He has become indifferent and has habits that, you fear, will bring him to no good. . . . Your son is typical of thousands of helpless youths in this country to-day. He has been unfitted for the work nature intended him to do; not fitted for the work he is capable of doing. To send him to college would only make matters worse. . . . What is his present attitude? Discontented; unable to know what he wants. For four years he has been left to wander amid females and their ideas of life. His eyes and hands have been allowed to go untrained; his mind,

instead of being drilled to observe facts and apply their lessons, instead of realizing that man must make proficiency in some line or fail as a producer, he has been absorbing the merry-go-round ideas of girls. He has no serious ideas of life; has a false pride due to his associations and the doughty smatterings of French and Latin imparted to him by female teachers. Of course he won't go into a carpenter shop in this town NOW. He feels that such a step would be humiliating. Think of the false ideas he has absorbed! To work with his hands is beneath HIS social level, so he remains useless and helpless—a parasite. It is from this class we specialists get the dipsomaniac, the despondent, and the useless—the men who go to the dump heap. Whose fault is this? You fathers; every one of you. You send your boy to school—to the public schools—without any care or investigation concerning his tastes, his teachers, or how he is to be made into a useful man. You pay your school tax and think your duty ends here."

Doctor Howard continues in this strain to deal very vigorously with coeducation and the feminization of the teaching staff in the grammar schools and particularly in the high schools. The conditions he complains of are not exceptional. "Look at it now in a common-sense light. When your boy graduated there were in his class nineteen young women and five boys. Naturally the studies were what the girls wanted; not what the boys should have had. The women were well established in physiologic life; the youths adolescents. Don't forget this distinction, this differentiation of the sexes, for it is a very important matter when you are told that the girls go far ahead in their studies. From the first year in the high school the boys begin to drop out. They are dissatisfied. After the second year there are about three girls to one boy. In one school whose graduating exercises I attended last spring, there were fourteen young women and one anaemic, sheepish youth. What training do you think that lad obtained for a start in life? Of course he had heard enough to become a milliner or a dressmaker, but that's about all. If a woman had come to you four years ago and suggested that you send your boy to

a girls' school, you would have sat up and taken notice. The average high schools are girls' schools, to which a few boys are unfortunately sent."

Whatever views one may hold with reference to the policy of coeducation and the feminization of our elementary and secondary schools, no one acquainted with the present school situation will question the fact that we are here confronted with two of the main elements affecting many of the most pressing problems in the field of American education.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Cosmographiae Introductio of Martin Waldseemüller, in facsimile, followed by the four voyages of Amerigo Vespucci with their translation into English; to which are added Waldseemüller's two World Maps of 1507, with an introduction by Prof. Joseph Fischer, S. J., and Prof. Franz von Weiser. Edited by Prof. Charles George Herbermann. Published by The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1907. 8o., pp. 151.

It can safely be said that in recent years nothing more important in "Americana" has appeared in English than the exquisite little volume before us. It contains: *a*) the Latin text with an English version of the "Cosmographiæ Introductio" of Martin Waldseemüller, a German Catholic priest of St. Dié in Alsace, published in 1507 and containing a minute account of the terrestrial globe, its circles, axes, zones, its climates and winds, general divisions, seas, islands, and various surface distances; *b*) an English version of the "Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci," made from a French version dedicated to René II, Duke of Lorraine, and published with the "Cosmographia" as above described. This French version was made from the Latin; indeed it is probable that the true original of these "voyages" was in Italian, and was dedicated to Pietro Soderini, the famous Gonfaloniere of Florence, an intimate friend and fellow-student of the discoverer; *c*) the important Waldseemüller world-map that accompanied his "Cosmographia" and on which for the first time the name "America" was given to the new world by Waldseemüller, in honor of Amerigo Vespucci whose recent voyages (1497–1503), the latter then thought, had done so much to make known these vast regions, also in imitation of the (female) names of "Europa" and "Asia." The "Cosmographia" of Waldseemüller soon spread far and wide "in numberless prints, copies and versions." The great world-map itself was everywhere reproduced in nearly unchanged form for almost a century. It is therefore to this famous book and more famous map of 1507 that we owe the distinctive name of the New World. The original words of the "Cosmographia" are (in this facsimile at p. xxv):

> "*Quarta orbis pars* (*quam quia Americus invenit, Amerigen quasi Americi terram sive Americam nuncupare licet*),"

and at p. xxx :

> "*Quarta pars per Americum Vesputium* (*ut in sequentibus audietur*) *inventa est, quam non video cur quis jure vetet ab Americo inventore sagacis ingenii viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram sive Americam dicendam, cum et Europa et Asia a mulieribus sua sortita sint nomina.*

The map, originally printed in one thousand copies, had gradually disappeared and was thought to be lost, though reduced early copies lately came to light and gave a fair notion of its appearance. In 1900 however, an original copy of the map was discovered by Father Joseph Fischer, S. J., in the library of Schloss Wolfegg in Würtemberg, belonging to the Princes of Waldburg. It was soon edited by the discoverer and Prof. Fr. von Wieser (Die älteste Karte mit dem Namen Amerika aus dem Jahre 1507, etc., Innsbruck, 1903), and as here reproduced amply justifies the sensation produced by its first publication. The editors rightly call attention to its impressive size, abundant contents and the artistic merit of its adornment. "It consists," they say, "of twelve sections engraved on wood, and is arranged in three zones, each of which contains four sections. Each section measures to its edge 18 x 25½ inches. The map covering thus a space of about 36 square feet represents the earth's form in a modified Ptolemaic coniform projection with curved meridians. On the lower edge, in capital letters, the title is thus inscribed : "Universalis Cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliorumque illustrationes." Though neither the name of the author, nor the date or place of its publication are given on this copy, circumstantial evidence proves, without the shadow of a doubt, that we have here Waldseemüller's long lost large map of the earth belonging to his "Cosmographiae Introductio" of 1507. In the construction of this map the author made use of the Ulm Ptolemy of 1486 and some more recent additions (tabulæ modernæ), also of Ezlaub's map for travellers, of maps based on the travels of Marco Polo, and certain sea-charts (cartæ marinæ) of the Spaniards and Portuguese ; notably, however, of the map (portulan) of Nicholas de Canerio (Harrisse, *Discovery of America*, pl. xiv), rom which Waldseemüller borrowed the outlines and "legends" for the coasts of the New World and South Africa. We learn also (24–26) that fragments of a globe-map (in solido) constructed by Waldseemüller for his "Cosmographia" are extant at Vienna in the Hauslab-Lichtenstein collection. Curi-

ously enough, at a later date Waldseemüller became convinced that Amerigo Vespucci was not the true discoverer of the New World, and attempted to withdraw from circulation the name America, by which, of course, he meant only the southern portion of the continent. The world-map, however, though apparently never reprinted on account of its great size and the quantity of wood-blocks needed, had been so widely disseminated within a year from its publication that it fixed forever the name of the New World. It is worthy of note that some thirty years later (1538) a Belgian Catholic scholar, the famous Gerhard Mercator, extended the name to the entire continent, and established finally the geographical terms of North and South America, "Americae pars septentrionalis," and "Americae pars meridionalis." The foregoing is taken freely from the thirty pages of very interesting introduction to this work by Father Fischer, S. J., and Prof. Fr. von Wieser, (translated from the German by Prof. L. H. Hunt), in which the reader will find curious and valuable information concerning Martin Waldseemüller (latinized Ilacomilus or Hylacomilus), the little circle of humanists attached about 1500 to the provincial court of Duke René, and in particular the origin and character of the now famous cartographic work that soon spread through every book-market of Germany, and finally of Europe, the portentous name "America." The English version of the "Cosmographia," the first ever made, seems particularly well done, and is by Prof. Edmund Burke of the City College, New York ; nor was it an easy task. Similar praise may be extended to the new English version of "The Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci" done by Dr. M. E. Cosenza (for the literary history of these famous letters, see Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 55 sqq.). It goes without saying that all lovers of "Americana" are henceforth deeply indebted to the scholarly "akribie," good taste, and unassuming patient industry of the editor, Dr. Herbermann. He has restored to us in this elegant fac-simile a real "cimelium" of geographical lore, what may well be called the first geographical primer of the New World, the first manual in which the marvellous information of Columbus and his imitators was thrown into popular form, made accessible to the cultivated and literary society of Germany and France, and thence disseminated through Europe. How strange that the all-pervading Humanism of this stirring age should have to its credit, *inter tot alia*, the christening, in due classic terminology, of the vast spaces immemorially hidden from the ken of mankind, awaiting their true human name from the language of Caesar and the pen of a Catholic priest !

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Bibliotheque de Theologie Historique. La Theologie de Bellarmin. Par J. de la Servière, S. J. Paris, Beauchesne, 1908. Pp. xxvii–764. Price, 8.50 frcs.

Cardinal Bellarmine was the most illustrious figure in what is known as the Roman controversy. A special monograph devoted to this champion of orthodoxy is, therefore, most welcome and needed. The general study of Turmel, in which he collects the proofs from Scripture and the Fathers commonly urged by Roman theologians of the past three centuries in refutation of their Protestant and Gallican opponents, left something to be desired ; it was the life-size portrait of the man and the theologian—Bellarmine was equally both—who fought the whole fight, one might almost say, single-handed, and did not come out second best. One of the most commendable features of the present volume, apart from its painstaking reconstruction and judicious, tempered appreciation of the theologian, is the number of interesting sidelights it casts on the personality of the man who had such a checkered career as professor and rector of the Roman College, as chairman of the committee appointed to revise the Ratio Studiorum, as member of the Holy Office which tried Galileo, as leading figure in the debates of the Congregation de Auxiliis, and as cardinal archbishop of Capua.

The author follows the plan adopted by Bellarmine in the "Controversies," and rightly so, since it is in this ripe fruit of years devoted almost exclusively to teaching that the real personal thought of the great controversialist is to be found. Cares of office afterward compelled him to draw upon the reserve fund of information previously acquired and to repeat himself. Bellarmine, the author says, was not an historian, but a controversialist. He claimed no originality. He was a collector of scattered information which he organized for purpose of attack and defense. He was content to seek the common points in which the Catholic schools of thought agreed and so did not take upon himself the defence of individual systems ; except in the case of the controversy on grace where he became a partisan, but a partisan who had something definite and clear to say to both contending parties, namely, that actual grace should be conceived as a transient motion, and not as a quality or act previous to the operation of the soul itself. Bellarmine is sometimes represented as an opponent of subtlety, but he showed on occasion that he could cross swords with the keenest of the dialecticians whom he easily surpassed in other respects by the vast amount which he possessed of positive information. He was loyal in

exposing his adversary's position, so much so, that he was accused of propagating the very doctrines which he demolished. His arguments of reason are drawn from moral rather than metaphysical considerations, and his style, condemned by some and praised by many, was, when all is said, clear, to the point, personal, and interesting. His theory that the civil power is of divine origin, conferred on the people as a whole, and not on any particular individual, caused a flutter among the upholders of the divine right of kings, and grieved the first James of England sorely. At his best on the questions of the Church, the Roman Pontiff, Grace, and Justification, all of which formed the centre of Protestant attack and called forth his best efforts of defence, Bellarmine was a digest of all the information that preceded him and the source of most that was to come into use after his time.

A sketch of Bellarmine's theological career together with the dates and occasions of his works ; a bibliography setting forth the sources which he consulted in preparation for his task ; a very useful alphabetical index, and a good table of contents accompany the volume and make the access of the student easy to the vast amount of information which it contains. In addition the author points out as he goes along the value of the sources which Bellarmine did not always control with discriminating sense, and shows where quantity of material rather than quality appealed to the great controversialist. Viewed as a whole, the volume is a fair, sympathetic, judicious presentation of the subject, and one which has both use and interest for all students of historical theology.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Kirchliches Handbuch, in Verbindung mit Domvikar P. Weber, Dr. Theol. W. Liese und Dr. Theol. K. Meyer, herausgegeben von H. A. Krose, S. J. Erster Band, 1907–1908, Freiburg and St. Louis, Herder, 1908. 8o, pp. xv and 471.

The Herder house in Freiburg has undertaken, under the aforementioned editorship, the preparation of a periodical work that shall give regularly the latest statistical information concerning the Catholic Church (chiefly in the German Empire), its German membership, general and diocesan ; the elements of its growth and the obstacles thereto, the ecclesiastical administration, the secular and regular clergy, ecclesiastical institutions, charities, associations ; legislation, ecclesiastical and German-civil, in so far as it affects the

Church ; the missions, domestic and foreign ; finally, the more recent conditions of the Catholic Church in other countries. In other words, it is proposed to publish henceforth a counterpart of the German Protestant "Kirchliches Jahrbuch" that for thirty-five years has furnished all desirable orientation on the general conditions of German Protestantism. The volume before us represents the initial attempt at this grave, responsible, and difficult undertaking, and may be declared an unqualified success. It does not seem possible that Catholic Germany, having once seen the value of such a statistical periodical, can fail to support it with the usual vigor, accuracy, and thoroughness. The work is divided into six parts. Part I presents the actual organization of the general ecclesiastical administration at Rome ; the pope, cardinals, congregations and commissions, prelatitial authorities, diplomatic relations with Germany and Austria-Hungary, heads of religious orders and congregations at Rome (names and addresses). Then follows a summary description of the diocesan administration in Germany (bishop, chapter, collegiate churches, diocesan authorities, diocesan institutions). Part II (63–197) furnishes the confessional statistics of the German Empire, and of each of its principal states (Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Saxony, Würtemberg, Alsace-Lorraine) at the end of 1905, the birth-rate, Catholic and Protestant, from 1875 to 1900, losses and gains (Austritte and Übertritte), the statistics of mixed marriages in 1905 and 1906, parochial life and growth of the priesthood, Catholic professors and students at the German universities in 1907–1908, the condition of the religious orders in Prussia and Bavaria in 1906, the confessional statistics according to electoral divisions. Part III describes (212–284) the charitable life of Catholic Germany, *i. e.*, purely religious charity ; protective associations for the poor, the sick and the young ; charitable institutions ; socio-charitable unions (servants, apprentices, workmen, students, teachers, priests, etc.); associations of a cultural character (Görres Society, German Association for Christian Art, Albertus-Magnus Union, etc.) and of a moral-popular kind (temperance, total abstinence, prevention of public immorality, etc.); finally, the socio-charitable central unions (Volksverein, Frauenbund, Charitasverband). Part IV (285–331) gives an outline of the public life of Catholicism in Austria-Hungary and France during 1907. Part V furnishes a conspectus of Catholic missionary work in Asia, Australia and Oceania, Africa, and the New World ; there is also a comparative study of Catholic and Protestant missions (336–361). In Part VI the reader will find a German version of the important acts of

general ecclesiastical legislation during 1907, also the more important acts of German diocesan legislation, the civil legislation concerning the Catholic Church in the German Empire, and a list of the official diocesan press (Amtsblatt, Diozesanblatt, Pastoralblatt, etc.), also the various collections of diocesan statutes, including the special legislation for the army. A lengthy appendix (395–471) gives the list of parishes and special chaplaincies (Seelsorgebezirke) for every German diocese in 1907. This rapid outline suffices to show the value of the new "Kirchliches Handbuch." It is simply indispensable for any one desirous of a first-hand acquaintance with Catholic conditions in Germany. Let us hope that the editors will be so well supported, officially and unofficially, and the publishers so well encouraged by the demand for the work, that it will at once become an annual publication. In a few years these volumes will be the best mirror of Catholic growth in Germany, and the most reliable work of reference on all the public manifestations of Catholic life in the Empire. Meanwhile, it is a very useful book even outside of Germany, if only for its large conspectus of the Catholic missions, due to the pen of the editor, Fr. Krose, S. J., whose "Katholische Missionstatistik" (Freiburg, 1908) is one of the most important recent contributions to the history of Catholic missionary effort in the last two or three decades.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Assertio Septem Sacramentorum, or Defence of the Seven Sacraments, by Henry VIII, King of England. Re-edited, with an introduction, by Rev. Louis O'Donovan, S. T. L., preceded by a preface by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons. New York, Benziger, 1908. 8o, pp. 479.

It was a happy thought of Fr. O'Donovan to reprint the original Latin text of the famous work in which Henry VIII, yet a Catholic, refuted the monstrous falsehoods of Luther's "Babylonic Captivity," and which won for the royal theologian the pontifical title of "Defender of the Faith" that the English sovereign yet bears (see the pamphlet "Popery on every Coin of the Realm" in *Publications of the London Catholic Truth Society*). Copies of this text had become rare. Equally praiseworthy was it to add an English version by one Thomas Webster, dating from the end of the seventeenth century (London, 1687, quarto, and 1688, octavo) but corrected in orthography and punctuation, and otherwise slightly modified. This cor-

rected version was printed at Dublin in 1821 (also in 1814, Gillow, *Bibliogr. Dict. of English Catholics*, III, 403) as an appendix to "The Commandments and the Seven Sacraments Explained," a work that goes under the name of Rev. John (later Bishop) Hornihold, 1706–1778 (rectè Hornyold, according to Gillow, *loc. cit.*) The Irish editor of this version saw in it an excellent historico-theological defence of the Catholic doctrine explained in the aforesaid work attributed to Bishop Hornyold (London, 8o, 1747–1750, 2d edition, London, 1770). It does not appear that this English version of the "Assertio" was included in either of these editions of the aforesaid work, nor does Fr. O'Donovan indicate any eighteenth-century reprint of the version, which seems, however, to have become popular in Ireland during the first part of the nineteenth century, for in 1836 we meet another Dublin reprint of the aforesaid "Commandments and Sacraments Explained." The same work seems also to have been reprinted at Baltimore in 1858. It does not appear therefore that Dr. Hornyold is responsible for the republication of the Webster version of 1687, but rather the unknown Irish editor of 1814 who first added it to the work of Hornyold (that incidentally Gillow, *op. cit.*, III, 403, says was really written by one Rev. John Johnson). Besides editing this reprint of the Latin original and the aforesaid English version, Fr. O'Donovan contributes a useful synopsis of the "Assertio," and discourses learnedly on its occasion, origin and motive ; authorship ; editions, and versions ; presentation to the Pope ; the title Defender of the Faith—hereditary or personal ; criticism and effects of the "Assertio." In this introduction he has collected and disposed under the above headings many valuable notes concerning the literary history of this curious work. Whoever undertakes a more formal examination of all the problems connected with the "Assertio" will find that Fr. O'Donovan, amid the daily cares of heavy parish work, has blazed the way for him in more than one direction. Indeed, there is in this introduction as much valuable material as could easily be worked up into another book, equal in size to the one before us. It is to be hoped that Fr. O'Donovan will return again to this task in a special work and elucidate fully, not only the special history of this rare text, but also the entire theological defence of Catholic faith in England during the decade of 1520–1530. No serious dissertation has yet appeared on this subject, which awaits a student as willing as Fr. O'Donovan to devote himself with affection to certain bibliographical "minutiae" and dry literary researches that entail hard labor, but are amply rewarded in the end, furnishing as they do a

solid basis for future investigations. The very useful bibliography would have been better placed at the beginning of the volume. To it might be added the small but learned brochure of the late Redemptorist, Fr. T. E. Bridgett, "The Defender of the Faith: The Royal Title, Its History and Its Value" (London, 1885).

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

A Textual Concordance of the Holy Scriptures, arranged especially for use in preaching, by Rev. Thomas David Williams. Benziger, New York, 1908. Pp. 848.

The author says of this work that it is a textual concordance of Holy Scripture, arranged especially for use in preaching; hence it contains only such subjects or headings as are likely to be of practical use, and only such texts as clearly and strongly bear upon the subjects to which they refer. Moreover, it does not aim at being exhaustive, but only at furnishing under each heading a moderate number of texts. He further calls attention to the difference between his work and "The Divine Armoury" of Fr. (Kenelm) Vaughan, and the "Thesaurus Biblicus" of Fr. Lambert. The bulk of his work, he goes on to say, "is the result of frequent perusals of the sacred text and was compiled in the course of seven years, neither by reference to, nor by the aid of, any other work of this or a similar nature." In general the compiler seems to have remained faithful to the limitations he thus put upon himself, and his work is a commendable example of priestly industry and zeal for the salvation of souls. Primarily, of course, it is meant for priests, but it can also render good service in Catholic families as a judicious guide to the reading of Holy Scripture and a help to the intelligence of sermons and instructions. The author says that it is made up of two parts, one moral and the other dogmatic. But in the moral part we meet with Grace, Prayer, Providence, Redeemer, Redemption, that seem out of place according to the aforesaid division. Moreover, while the pagination runs on unbroken, there is no table of contents to show where the doctrinal part begins. This general division and the additional "appendix" might well be exchanged for a strictly alphabetical arrangement; the dogmatic passages could easily be marked with an asterisk or other conventional sign. An index of the titles or headings would aid the ordinary reader to see at a glance whether the subject he looks for is to be found in the book. It is true, a very good

"index rerum" supplies, to some extent, the lack of an index of titles. Not many possess or would frequently use the bulky Concordance of Dutripon (Paris, 1851), or that of the Jesuit Peultier and his confrères Etienne and Gantois (Paris, 1897) ; hence the utility of a work like this. For the publishers it is a creditable piece of bookmaking ; the type is bold and clear, the paper heavy, the binding solid and elegant. The book deserves a wide circulation among clergy and laity as a practical key to the incredible wealth of Holy Scripture with whose praises from the lips of Leo XIII Fr. Williams not inaptly introduces his work to the public.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Greek Fathers. By Adrian Fortescue. The Catholic Truth Society, London, 1908. 8o, pp. xvi and 255.

It is not all the Greek Fathers whose lives and writings are here described, but the chief ones : St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. John of Damascus. In other words we have in this little work a good section of Greek Patrology. Of course such a work calls for a suitable re-setting of the writers in the contemporary life, religious and ecclesiastical, *i. e.* for a certain amount of ecclesiastico-historical narrative, and thus becomes at once a kind of church history of the period, only viewed from the angle of the patrologist. Possibly, the literary interest of the Greek Fathers deserves more space than is here given to them. English works, though not a few are given, might be more abundantly quoted ; unfortunately, however, our distinctively Catholic efforts in this province are too rare. There are, actually, not a few excellent non-Catholic works in our language as well deserving of mention as many non-Catholic works in German. The narrative is fluent and compact, often picturesque, and sometimes offers personal touches and reminiscences. Foot-notes convey much useful information that could not easily be fitted into the text. The literary paragraphs are all meaty, quite accurate and succinct, and are calculated to attract the reader to a more intimate study of the works of the great witnesses to Christian truth in the Greek Orient during the most trying centuries of the formation of Christendom. This work of Dr. Fortescue is a useful vade-mecum for young ecclesiastics in our seminaries, and can be read with profit by those whose seminary days are now far-away reminiscences.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Lettres sur les Etudes Ecclesiastiques. Par Mgr. Mignot, archevêque d'Albi. J. Gabalda et Cie, Paris, 1908, 90 Rue Bonaparte. 8o, pp. 324.

The literature destined to affect immediately the formation of youthful ecclesiastics grows apace. Since the excellent "Timotheusbriefe" of Dr. Hettinger and "The Eternal Priesthood" of Cardinal Manning, a considerable "bibliotheca" of such works has appeared, most of which pay great attention to the intellectual formation of the young priest. A special value attaches to such guides when they come from those officially charged with ecclesiastical government and the formation of the priesthood, *i. e.*, from the prelates of the Church. Mgr. Mignot, archbishop of Albi, has in this work collected a number of former discourses and pastorals bearing on ecclesiastical studies. They are entitled: "Etudes littéraires et scientifiques; La philosophie; L'apologétique contemporaine; L'histoire; L'apologétique et la critique biblique; La méthode de la théologie. In an exquisite preface the distinguished author reminds his readers that he offers here no formal treatment of the great subjects mentioned; his pages are really only "libres causeries" destined to arouse legitimate curiosity, to lay before the youthful ecclesiastic the actual status of certain great departments of theology, also the perils that now threaten Catholic faith; thereby he hopes, "the minds of many will be moved to deeper reflection, to grasp the necessity of thorough examination of the bases of faith, and to embark on the way of solid studies, at once progressive and prudent. Such studies can only aid the priest in his office of catechist and apologist; they may also serve to quiet certain timorous minds by making clear to them the limits of human knowledge and the essential doctrines that rationalist criticism can never affect." These discourses and pastorals of Mgr. Mignot are solid in content, eloquent in diction, and timely in mental attitude. It is needless to say that they may be profitably read in conjunction with the late pontifical pronouncements on Modernism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum, etc. Tenth edition by Clemens Bannwart, S. J. Freiburg and St. Louis, B. Herder, 1908. 8o, pp. xxvii and 628. Price, $1.75.

All teachers and students of theology will welcome this new edition

of Dr. Heinrich Denzinger's "Enchiridion," so well and favorably known as a documentary "summa" of the principal decisions of ecclesiastical authority in matters of Catholic faith and discipline. Since its first appearance in 1853 it has gone through several editions, and since 1883 began to take on a greater importance, owing to various improvements and additions, the ninth edition (1899) being particularly welcomed. In this tenth edition Father Bannwart, S. J., has so added to the serviceableness of this work that his name deserves henceforth to be classed with that of Denzinger as co-author. Large additions have been made to the first section on the "Symbolum Apostolicum" and, of course, the section on the important decrees and decisions of the reigning pontiff, Pius X, is entirely new. All questions and references have been re-examined at first hand ; the scripture text is put in italics ; the decrees and decisions of pope and councils are redisposed in strict chronological order ; the exact modern style of quoting canonical texts is used ; cross references abound to all numbers that treat similar subjects ; important words or phrases are spaced ; each page-title shows the chronology of the material there printed ; the decisions of Roman Congregations are briefly summarized. Above all, a systematic index exhibits all the dogmatic, moral, canonical and apologetic subjects treated in the volume, but in such a manner that the reader can at once find all the numbers that the subject calls for, while (a happy innovation) the more important numbers stand out in bold type. An alphabetical index closes the volume and permits the reader to find any name or subject mentioned. The original sources of all decrees, decisions, definitions, declarations, are regularly given in the best modern style ; here and there also appear some bibliographical items of more than ordinary value. Finally, a chronological index and an index of the abbreviations used in quoting these documents (index siglorum) leave but little to be desired in the way of "subsidia" for teacher or student. As it stands the work is truly a "speculum" or mirror of the Catholic faith, from the viewpoint of long centuries of theological conflict and development. It is a long cry to this work from the three large volumes of d'Argentré's "Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus, etc.", covering the period from 1100 to 1735. A comparison of the two exhibits will show the great improvement made by modern Catholic theologians in completeness and compactness of exposé, lucid disposition of material, sense of proportion, and of relative importance. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that if a Catholic missionary were lost in the forests of Africa with only the Scriptures, his breviary, Bareille's new commentary on the

"Catéchisme du Concile de Trente" (Montrejeau, 1906) and Fr. Bannwart's edition of Denzinger, he would possess from his point of view the "Wesen des Christenthums," *i. e.*, the richest sources of Christian thought and life, the Word of God and its authoritative interpretation by Holy Church. It may be added that a "Clavis Concordantiarum" enables a comparison between the numbers appended to the documents of this edition and and those used in earlier editions. This is a very important help to Catholic teachers and writers who now meet daily in their authors with references, *e. g.*, to the ninth edition of Denzinger (1899). In view of the foregoing remarks it is plain that in future the only edition of Denzinger that should be quoted in a scientific treatise is this tenth edition. It should, therefore, be in every ecclesiastical library, as one of the indispensable books for which both the publishers and the editor deserve the gratitude of all scholars and scholarly readers.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Ven. P. Ludovici De Ponte, S. J. Meditationes de praecipuis fidei nostrae mysteriis, de hispanico in latinum translatae a Melchiore Trevinnio, S. J. De novo in lucem data cura Augustini Lehmkuhl, S. J. Second edition. Freiburg, Herder, 1908. 8o. Parts I–III, pp. 370, 266, 530. $1.10; 95 cents; $1.45.

These three latest volumes of the "Bibliotheca Ascetica Mystica" of the Herder house in Freiburg and St. Louis deserve a place in the library of every Catholic priest. Indeed, so modest is the price of each new volume, and so exquisite the form which this classical ascetic and mystic literature of the Church now takes on, that every ecclesiastic ought to own the entire series. In the past these gems of Catholic spiritual science were out of print, or difficult to purchase; in this new series the best of them will soon be at the disposal of all. We have already called attention to the value of these publications (BULLETIN, 1907, XIII, 304). In the three little volumes before us Fr. Lehmkuhl, himself no mean master of the spiritual life, presents us a new edition of the Meditations of the Venerable Ludovico da Ponte (Luis de la Puente, a Spanish Jesuit, 1554–1624), of international reputation since 1611 when this work was translated from Spanish into Latin at Cologne. The last Latin edition (Nördlingen, 1854), being exhausted, the present edition was in order. In his preface Fr. Lehmkuhl states

briefly the edifying facts of the life of his famous confrère, whose beatification is before the Holy See since 1759. The spiritual excellencies of the "Meditationes" of Da Ponte are so well known that it is unnecessary here to insist on them further than to say that in this new edition they are destined to a renewal of influence on the minds and lives of the younger Catholic clergy, whose predecessors were in no small measure formed to the "viae Domini" by these writings of a great master who was at once the disciple of Baldassare Alvarez the confessor of St. Theresa, and of Francesco Suarez, while afterwards the latter did not disdain to confide his spiritual welfare to the man whom he had initiated into the mysteries of theology.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Last Abbot of Glastonbury and other Essays, by Francis Aidan Gasquet, Abbot President of the English Benedictines. George Bell and Sons, London, 1908. 8o, pp. 329.

The Black Death of 1348 and 1349, by Abbot Gasquet, D. D. George Bell and Sons, London, 1908. 8o, pp. 238.

1. In the first of these works Dom Gasquet reprints some essays long out of print and adds some others. The essay that gives the work its name appeared in 1895, and was soon a rare volume. All lovers of English Benedictine history will welcome it in its new and accessible form. The other essays deal with English Biblical Criticism in the Thirteenth Century, English Scholarship in the Thirteenth Century, Two Dinners at Wells in the Fifteenth Century, Some Troubles of a Catholic Family in Penal Times, Abbot Feckenham and Bath, Christian Democracy in Pre-Reformation Times, The Layman in the Pre-Reformation Parish, St. Gregory the Great and England. Dom Gasquet's erudition is vast and various; his narrative style pleasing and familiar, yet dignified as becomes the matter in hand; his choice of subjects timely and helpful; his exposé well-proportioned and rounded. The two papers on English biblical criticism and scholarship in the thirteenth century should be read by every priest and every scholarly person who is interested in medieval Catholic learning; they are in no way inferior to the learned Bishop Stubbs' corresponding account of English Catholic learning in the twelfth century, published in his "Seventeen Lectures on Medieval History."

2. This work of Dom Gasquet was first printed as "The Great Pestilence, etc." (London, 1895), and as such at once took its place

as the classic English account of the awful scourge which fell on Christian Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the general outlines of whose history were eternalized by Boccaccio in the introduction to his Decameron. What Höniger (1882) and Lechner (1884) did for the ravages of this pest in Germany, Dom Gasquet did for England, largely by first hand examination of the episcopal registers of the time, the civil "inquisitiones post mortem," and other archive-materials hitherto little known or little used. The Black Death of 1348 and 1349 with its various recurrences during the latter half of the fourteenth century swept away, it is calculated, about 2,500,000 people in England, and 25,000 ecclesiastics, among them 5,000 beneficed clergymen, canons, parish priests, curates and the like. Together with the Hundred Years War in France (Denifle) and the absence of the popes from Rome (Pastor) this social disaster helps to explain the deplorable condition of religious and ecclesiastical life in many parts of Europe just previous to the Reformation. It lamed particularly, as Dom Gasquet well shows, the great religious orders, several of which were brought to the verge of extinction, and all of which suffered indescribably by the simultaneous loss of multitudes of their oldest and wisest members, in whose place there came, of necessity, youthful, untrained, and inexperienced men, who could only slowly and imperfectly grasp again the original ideals and great traditions of their predecessors. These works of Dom Gasquet, like his Eve of the Reformation (fourth edition), Old English Bible and Other Essays (second edition), Henry the Third and the Church (1216–72), and his classical Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (sixth edition), deserve the widest recognition as historical teaching of a very high order, and Catholic apologetics of a kind that the modern world is not unwilling to listen to and even applaud. It is such works as these that Catholic priests and sisters, and cultivated Catholics generally, should call for at book-stores and help to make known by distributing them as prizes, holiday presents, ordination gifts, even wedding gifts. They are moderate in price and easily accessible. No more serviceable or inspiring present could be made to a young theologian than a complete collection of the writings of the learned Benedictine who has with so much zeal, industry, perseverance and ability shed credit on his ancient order and honored our common Catholic mother.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Espagne Chretienne, par Dom H. Leclercq. Paris, Lecoffre, 1906. 8o, pp. 394.

L'Eglise et L'Orient au Moyen age: Les Croisades, par Louis Bréhier. Paris, Lecoffre, 1907. 8o, pp. 377.

1. These volumes of the "Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique" begun some years ago under the inspiration of Leo XIII by the Paris house of Lecoffre (now J. Gabalda et Cie) amply sustain the reputation of the series for fulness and reliability, each volume being, within its limits, an exposé of some period or subject, at once critical and popular in the best sense of both words. Even those well versed in ecclesiastical history may learn not a little from the work of Dom Leclercq on the early history of the Spanish Church, as far as the Battle of Guadalete (711) and the subsequent consolidation of the Arab conquest. There is not a dull page in this masterly outline of the vicissitudes of early Christian thought and life in the Hispanic peninsula, where history and nature have in a remarkable way affected the growth of Christ's kingdom. The reader is at once put on the way of right intelligence of the facts by a preliminary description, brief but orderly and sufficient, of the original sources, ecclesiastical and civil. Only the "summa capita" of a crowded story could be touched in the narrow space of a small octavo, yet nothing of importance seems omitted. The reader will find here the marrow of such larger works as Florez, de la Fuente, and Gams. Spanish Christian literature is treated at length (Juvencus, Prudentius), also the noble figure of Hosius of Cordova, the Western champion of Nicene orthodoxy. Particularly valuable are the pages devoted to Priscillian and Priscillianism; they embody new facts and considerations that ought to enter into our future manuals of ecclesiastical history, now that the discovery (1886) of the original writings of Priscillian permits a more accurate and therefore a juster appreciation of his exact place in Spanish religious and ecclesiastical life. Elsewhere the Visigothic persecution and later domination, civil and ecclesiastical; the peculiar authority and influence of the Councils of Toledo (the Champs de Mars or Wittenagemots of Spain); finally, the causes and events that led to Arab invasion and conquest, likewise the peculiar semi-independence of the subject Christians under the early Arab régime, are told, in a rapid and sketchy way, it is true, but with clearness and truth. The volume is highly commendable both for private reading and for use by professors and students of ecclesiastical history.

2. M. Louis Bréhier, Professor of History at the University of Clermont-Ferrand, presents us in this volume with a highly condensed, but picturesque and accurate résumé of the main events of the great religious movement known as the Crusades, undertaken by the popes for the liberation of the Holy Land from the yoke of Islam, and long guided and controlled by them. In about 350 pages this moving drama, the largest, most eventful, and most resultful enterprise of all medieval life, is brought before us. The allotted space did not permit of more than a sketch ; indeed, it is chiefly the ecclesiastico-historical interest that dominates the choice of matter and the entire narrative. The papacy is ever in the forefront of this warfare, peculiarly its own not only as to purpose and spirit, but also as to means and methods. A preliminary chapter furnishes the reader with an excellent orientation on the historical sources of the Crusades notably richer to-day than fifty years ago, owing to the labors of writers like Langlois, Riant, Röhricht, de Mas Latrie, Tobler and Molinier, Schlumberger, Conder, Tafel and Thomas, Heyd, Marcellino da Civezza, Golubovitch, also the "Société de l'Orient Latin" and the "Revue de l'Orient Latin," to which may be added the "Revue de l'Orient Chrétien" and the "Echos de l'Orient." It may be added that in this carefully written summary Professor Bréhier exhibits a Catholic spirit and temper, and that he does not fail to incorporate here and there numerous corrections and rectifications made necessary by recent successful researches in all departments of Crusade history.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Orthodox Eastern Church, by Adrian Fortescue. Catholic Truth Society, London, 1907. 8o, pp. xxvii and 451 (illustrated).

We are gradually acquiring in English a number of popularly-written modern, reliable, and in a way exhaustive, volumes on many periods and phases of ecclesiastical history. Until very recently, however, almost the only general and trustworthy work on the so-called Greek Church was the great "Photius" of Cardinal Hergenröther (Ratisbon, 1867). To Labourt's "Eglise de Perse" and Pargoire's "Eglise Byzantine, 527–847" (both in the Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique, Paris, J. Gabalda et Cie, 90 Rue Bonaparte) we may now add the excellent and timely work of Dr. Fortescue on the "Orthodox Eastern Church," the conventional name, he reminds us, of those Eastern churches which since the Schism have remained in

union with the patriarch of Constantinople. To us of course, the word "Orthodox" means just what such churches really are not.

But another satisfactory term is not easy to find. "Eastern is too wide," says Dr. Fortescue (p. vi), "the Copts and Armenians form Eastern Churches; *Schismatic* involves the same difficulty, besides being needlessly offensive. We do not in ordinary conversation speak of Protestants as heretics. The name commonly used, *Greek*, is the worst of all. The only body that ever calls itself, or can with any sort of reason be called the Greek Church, is the Established Church of the kingdom of Greece; and that is only one, and a very small one, of the sixteen bodies that make up this great Communion. To call the millions of Russians who say their prayers in Old Slavonic and obey the Holy Synod at St. Petersburg, Greek, is as absurd as calling us all Italian."

Dr. Fortescue divides his long story into four parts. In the first he resumes the vicissitudes of the churches in union with Constantinople previous to the ninth-century schism of Photius—their faith and rites, piety, morals and art. Two preliminary chapters describe the great patriarchates (Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Cyprus), into which the Universal Church was then divided, also in a summary way the relations between Rome and the Eastern Churches in this period. In the second part of his work Dr. Fortescue treats the schism of Photius of Constantinople (815–891), and of Michael Cerularius, likewise patriarch of that city, 1043–1059. In the third part the medieval story of the Church of Constantinople and its dependencies is outlined in four chapters: the Reunion Councils (Bari, 1098; Second Lyons, 1274; Ferrara-Florence, 1438–39); the Crusades and the Byzantine Church; Under the Turk; Orthodox Theology. The fourth part makes us acquainted with the Constitution of the Orthodox Church, the Orthodox Hierarchy, the Orthodox Faith, and Orthodox Rites. In a final chapter he discusses "The Question of Reunion." From his remarks an eloquent and sensible page may well be quoted here:

"Indeed it is an acceptable time. Never yet have the Eastern bishops stood so much in need of their natural arbitrator as now. We have seen how their independence of their chief has ended in the most servile dependence on secular governments; even the unbaptized tyrant who has robbed the Christian East of her lands and degrades the lawful heirs of those countries beneath the rabble he brought with him from Asia, even he has to step in to arrange their quarrels. Do they really think that Abdulhamid is the right man to decide what language shall be used for the Holy Liturgy, and what bishop shall reign in the old sees of Macedonia? Do they still, after having felt its weight for over three centuries, prefer his turban to the Pope's tiara? At any rate, the Pope never filched their children, desecrated their churches, nor murdered their bishops. Who is ever going to make peace between Greek and Bulgar, Serb and Vlach? It will not

be the Oecumenical Patriarch; he is the chief offender and the avowed leader of one side. Do the Slavs want a chief who will not try to rob them of their national feeling, forbid their language, and persecute their priests? Such a chief is waiting for them across the Albanian mountains and Adriatic Sea. Let them look at the Uniates and see how scrupulously their rites and languages are kept. Does the Patriarch himself feel the degradation of being continually deposed by his own metropolitans and by the Turkish Minister of Religions? There is a greater Patriarch, whom no bishop can feel it degrading to obey, who stands for the rights of old Canon Law, and whose honour is still in the firm strength of his brothers. And for us Catholics, too, reunion would be the greatest of blessings. We want back the great sees that have stood aloof from us so long. We want the communion of the Christians to whom St. Paul brought the faith at Ephesus and Corinth, the children of the men of Antioch who first were called by the name in which all glory. And we need, too, the righter balance that would be restored by reunion with the Orthodox. In spite of our loyalty to our own rite, and in spite of our natural pride in being not only Catholics but Latins and members of the greatest Patriarchate, we have to realize that the Latin Church is not, has never been, the whole Body of Christ. We may forget the Uniates (it is a shameful injustice to them if we do), but we could not forget one hundred millions of Catholics of other rites. And we need their ideas, their traditions and spirit in the Church as well as our own. Their conservation now means only fossilization; joined to our life it would be a sane and useful balance. Their love of the liturgy and dislike of innovations has something to teach our people. If we regret the too sudden way in which new devotions spread amongst us, the gradual divorce of the people from the real rites of the Church, the slight regard paid to her seasons, the exaggeration of pious fancies above the old and essential things, the abuses in such matters as indulgences, privileges, and special favours against which the Council of Trent spoke, we should find the remedy of all these things in the solid piety and the unchanging loyalty towards the customs of their fathers among Eastern Christians.

And then what a vast body we should make together. Our millions joined to theirs would form indeed a mighty and compact world-Church, before which the new sects would count as almost nothing. One conceives the union of the five Patriarchs stretching across Europe as the most glorious realization of the City of God on earth; and if one remembers all the sheep that are not of this fold regretfully, if one prays that all some day may be brought back to the one fold and the one Shepherd, one thinks then of none with so much sympathy as our brothers across the Adriatic. For with them practically nothing is wrong but the schism. In the case of others one sees so much that would have to be changed—false doctrine, reckless mutilation of the old faith, and rival conventicles. But the Eastern schism has still left us on both sides with the same faith in almost everything. Of course they would have to accept the whole of the Catholic faith. In that no desire for reunion, no spirit of conciliation, can ever make the Holy See waive anything. There can be no compromise in matters of faith. But the Orthodox already have, and jealously keep, practically all that faith. As for the points they would have to concede, one cannot believe that they really think the question of the *Filioque* so vital, nor can they really be so unwilling to admit the special privilege of the all-holy Mother of God, to whom they are so devoted. Infallibility seems a big thing; but in this point, too, it should not be so difficult

to make them see things. If God so carefully guides his Church, how can he allow the chief Patriarch to teach heresy, since he is the leader and judge of all the others? Other bishops can be put right by appeals to Rome: to whom could one appeal from the Pope? There must be a final court somewhere; no one could suggest any other than Rome, and the decision of the final court must be final. That means infallibility. Moreover, what did their fathers think when they continually appealed to Rome in questions of faith? Let the Orthodox think the same."

In their present temper, however, we must not expect too much. The coarse reply of the Patriarch Anthimos to the cordial appeal of Leo XIII is yet vivid in the memories of all. The ethos of the East is unchanging; the same temper that makes for permanency in faith, rite, discipline, institutions, makes also for permanency in other and worse things, sleepless hate, cherished embitterment, indissoluble antithesis of viewpoint, racial, national, religious, ecclesiastical. It would seem that only some great cataclysm, like a new Western conquest of the vast Orient, could affect the solid concrete of opposition that the Latin Church has ever met, and yet meets, throughout the Oriental Christian world.

"Evidently," says Mgr. Duchesne, "they are still sore and hurt, will have nothing to do with us, and are not at all embarrassed in saying so quite plainly." One does not, then, see in the leaders of the Orthodox Church any great desire to heal this lamentable breach. And yet, one asks oneself at the end of the whole story, what real reason can there be for the schism now? One can understand the original causes. Photius was so anxious to remain Patriarch. It was so hard for him to be deposed when the Emperor and all the court were on his side. Cerularius wanted to be a sort of Pope-Emperor himself, and the Crusaders behaved so badly to the Byzantine people. But now, after all these years, who cares any longer for those quarrels? The dusts of ten centuries have gathered over Photius's unknown grave; it is nine hundred years since Cerularius, who had been so rude and insubordinate to his over-lord, went to give his account to the over-lord of all patriarchs. Cannot one even yet let the dead bury their dead? The schism came about through the jealousies and ambitions of the old Roman court on the Bosphorus. And that court and all the Byzantine world has been dead so long. Who cares now for the Cæsar in his gorgeous palace, or for the political rivalries of Old Rome and New Rome? The Turk swept New Rome away; and only here and there a student, peering through the mists of centuries, will call up again the pale ghosts of the men who intrigued and fought, plotted and murdered around the gorgeous halls, the stately basilicas, and the crowded streets of the city whose marble quays rose above the Golden Horn. Her watchwords are silent and her causes are forgotten, as the world moves through the changing ages. But for all of us, for the children of dead New Rome as well as for us who stand around the fisherman's throne in the eternal Old Rome, there is a cause that does not die, there is a great city of God on earth whose towers are built too high for any change to destroy her; and there are words that do not pass away: The

branch that is cut away from the vine shall wither, and: On this rock I will build my Church."

We anxiously await the second volume in which Dr. Fortescue proposes to round out his study of the Eastern Churches, with an account of the non-Greek speaking Churches,—Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, and of the Uniates or various Eastern communities in communion with the Apostolic See. In the meantime great credit is due the Catholic Truth Society of London (69 Southwark Bridge Road, S. E.), for the excellent form in which this work appears. It should be found at once in every Catholic library, public and private, ecclesiastical and lay. Indeed, it is so good a contribution to the literature of the subject, and is so generally reliable, that every library interested in such works ought to possess it.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

BOOK NOTICES.

It is with pleasure that we chronicle the appearance of a new Catholic historical association, the "St. Paul Catholic Historical Society" whose organ ACTA ET DICTA, a collection of historical data regarding the origin and growth of the Catholic Church in the Northwest, Vol. I, No. 1 (St. Paul, July, 1907), begins its career very creditably with reprints of valuable original documents (letters of Bishop Loras, diary of Bishop Cretin, etc.) and historical papers of local interest by Bishop Shanley, Rev. A. McNulty and Mgr. A. Oster. An introduction from the pen of Archbishop Ireland and the constitution of the society round out the 159 important pages. The motto of the society *Colligite fragmenta ne pereant* (John VI, 12) is aptly chosen. The stirring ecclesiastical and religious life of the Northwest will henceforth have its own archives or depository, where the historian of the future will find authoritative material for one of the most wonderful and consoling chapters in the long history of Catholic missionary work.

In a little pamphlet, LE CONVERTIS D'HIER (70 pp., Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, Paris, 1908, 1 franc), Abbé Croonier, Professor at the Catholic University of Angers, describes in an interesting way and in fine literary language the psychological history of those well known writers in France, who have, of late years, come back to the Catholic Church through different roads, finding in her alone a rest and a direction for their intelligence and the satisfaction of their aspirations: François Coppée through suffering: "la bonne souffrance;" Ad. Rette through the consciousness of his moral weakness; Huysmans through mysticism; P. Bourget through the study of philosophy and sociology; F. Brunetière through the need of firm and immutable foundations for intellectual and moral life. Each one of these portraits presents a good example of concrete and living apologetics.

The religious life, it is well known, can be greatly furthered or greatly hindered by the superiors to whom are entrusted the choicest vocations in the vineyard of the Lord. Very timely therefore, is the new and revised edition of the little work GOLDEN RULES FOR DIRECTING RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES, seminaries, colleges, schools, families, etc., by Rev. Michael Müller, C. SS. R. (New York, Pustet, 1909), originally published in 1871. Its sure and moderate doctrine, fed from the approved masters of the spiritual life, is in large measure applicable to all communities, however different in immediate purpose from religious societies. The little work deserves not only a wide circulation, but attentive reading on the part of those who are called to obey no less than on the part of those who are called to govern. *Ars artium regimen animarum.*

Among the New English Ascetical works THE LORD'S PRAYER AND THE HAIL MARY, Points for Meditation, by Stephen Beissel, S. J. (St. Louis, Herder, 1908, 8o, pp. 227), is deserving of notice. The author rightly says that

"priests who have used these points for their private meditation will find it easy to develop from them short addresses or sermons." It is not stated that these pages are a translation from the German of the distinguished medieval archaeologist Father Beissel, nor would the fact be easily discoverable, so well done is the version.

Another ascetical work is CATHOLIC LIFE, or The Feasts, Fasts, Devotions of the Ecclesiastical Year (New York, Benziger, 1908, 8o, pp. 199). In some ways it is a kind of summary of the "Liturgical Year" of Dom Gueranger, and gives useful ascetical, historical and liturgical information concerning many of the feasts, fasts and devotions of the Church. Anecdotes and examples enliven the text.

Probably the new reprint of THE TRAINING OF A PRIEST, an Essay on Clerical Education, with a Reply to the Critics, by Rev. Dr. John Talbot Smith (New York, Longmans, 1908, 8o, pp. 361), will cause less flurry than did the original, published as "Our Seminaries" (New York, 1896). Apart from a preface in which the author reviews with not undue satisfaction the changes of a decade, an essay on seminary education from the qualified pen of the Bishop of Rochester (*Am. Eccl. Review*, May, 1897), and a final chapter in which the author deals mildly with his former critics, the work does not differ substantially from the first edition. It is dedicated to the venerable Bishop McQuaid, and may now be said to have won its place in the literature on ecclesiastical seminaries and teaching that the last two decades have brought forth, and which is not the least sign of the new religious life that is dawning among Catholics in every land. The work of Dr. Smith, in its new and tasty form, deserves to be read and pondered on, and will no doubt meet with the renewal of attention it richly deserves.

Whoever would enjoy a pleasant sojourn in Greece, ancient, medieval and modern, will do well to take up the excellent volume of his essays which Dr. Daniel Quinn reprints from various reviews in HELLADIC VISTAS (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1908, 8o, pp. 407). They are characterized by varied and reliable historical, artistic, and archaeological erudition, and by a tender sympathetic feeling; are moreover the fruit of wide experience among the Greek people and much travel in that classic land. In this province Dr. Quinn writes with rare skill, as one in whom learning, affection, and equipment are on a level. It is to be hoped that he will eventually try a higher flight, and undertake some work "de longue haleine" in which his many gifts and his varied experience will find ample employment.

An English liturgical commentary on the "Rituale Romanum" including the substance of its ordinances is a not unwelcome addition to our liturgical literature: THE ENGLISH RITUAL EXPLAINED, by the Rev. W. Dunne, B. A., Professor at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, (London, R. and T. Washbourne, 1908, 8o, pp. 164). It permits the faithful to prepare with due knowledge for the visitation of the sick, for the reception of the sacraments, the burial of the dead,

and the most usual sacerdotal benedictions (holy water, pictures, crosses, cemetery, etc.) The commentary is kept judiciously within the bounds of the strictly necessary, while recent important decisions are inserted in their due places.

Of "Franciscana" there is no end, whether learned or popular. Among the latest accounts of the "Poverello" is the STORY OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, by M. Alice Heins, Tertiary of St. Francis, with a preface by Father Cuthbert, O. S. F. C. (Burns and Oates, London, 1908). The booklet is illustrated, and can boast of two pages of an introduction from the pen of the aforesaid gifted Capuchin. Mrs. Heins has chosen the salient points of the life of St. Francis. Her narrative runs smoothly and entertainingly, and can be read with delight by the uneducated and by children, while even the learned need not disdain its clear and nervous diction.

The anti-Roman notes with which the late Dr. Coxe disfigured the American reprint of the "Ante-Nicene Fathers" furnish occasion to one of our scholarly priests for an excellent booklet, in which step by step he examines and refutes the often grave errors of Dr. Coxe, THE SEE OF PETER AND THE VOICE OF ANTIQUITY, critical notes on Bishop Coxe's Ante-Nicene Fathers, by Rev. Thomas S. Dolan. (B. Herder, St. Louis, 1908. Sixty cents). The reasoning of Fr. Dolan is trenchant and his defence of the Catholic interpretation of the venerable patristic texts in general very successful. Here and there are misprints, *e. g.* Zozomen for Sosomen (p. 39). When Fr. Dolan says (p. 9) apropos of the Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians that "Corinth appealed to Rome" it might have been well to quote the chapter of the Epistle which proves this statement. Of course, if St. Clement interfered unasked in the affairs of the Corinthian community, the inference is natural that he was its superior, and ex-officio authorized to do so. As to the motive that impelled St. Clement to write in the name of "the Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth" the Epistle says no more (c. 1) than that the writer "has been somewhat tardy in giving heed to the matters of dispute that have arisen among you, dearly beloved." The more one reads the Epistle the more one is persuaded that it came to Corinth unasked for; Dr. Bardenhewer (*Gesch. der altkirchlichen Litt.*, I, 103) says that "the Roman Church was made aware of the Corinthian troubles probably through Roman Christians who had been in Corinth, and as soon as possible sought to apply a remedy." While an appeal of the Corinthians to the Roman Church would have been a formal recognition of the latter's authority the unasked for interference of the Romans in the domestic affairs of Corinth could only be justified by the generally acknowledged right of Clement to act in the name of the Apostolic See (Hermae Pastor, *Vis.* II, 4, 3; ed. von Funk, 1901, I, 431).

HARMONICS, "DE DEO," BEING WREATHS OF SONG FROM A COURSE OF DIVINITY, by Rev. T. J. O'Mahony, D. D., D. C. L. (M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd., Dublin and Waterford, 1908), is a little volume of 80 pages, containing 28 short poems and a prose appendix of 36 pages. The poems are of the mystical order, and are somewhat difficult of comprehension to the ordinary mind. Some of the stanzas in the Prolusion are specially obscure. Take this one for example:

"As the All-other than we here"—sing
How All-other than we
Is He as Who wholly made being
All first there came *to be.*

The Apologia, however, is very sweet and has some graceful touches. The volume bears the new Irish trade-mark, and is printed and bound in Ireland. It is turned out in a manner that reflects credit on the well-known Irish printing and publishing firm of Gill and Son.

SYDNEY CARRINGTON'S CONTUMACY, by X. Lawson (Fr. Pustet and Co., Ratisbon, Rome, New York, and Cincinnati, 1908, price $1.25), is a charming story of love, religion, and scrupulosity. The interest is well sustained and the characters clearly and firmly sketched. It will be no surprise if we meet the "contumacious" Sydney once more, as at present she has only retired to a convent school for two years' study.

Messrs. Benziger Brothers have produced four very readable books in THE SHADOW OF EVERSLEIGH (price $1.25); DEAR FRIENDS (price 60 cents); THE MARKS OF THE BEAR CLAWS (price 85 cents); and STORIES FOR YOU AND ME (price 75 cents). THE SHADOW OF EVERSLEIGH, by Jane Lansdowne, is a quaintly told story of the evil times that came upon Catholics in England in the days of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. Interwoven in the plot is the history of how a vow, made when Henry was king, to build a chantry chapel was, after long years, at length fulfilled in the reign of Charles II. The supernatural element introduced is so skilfully handled that it seems quite in place and highly probable.

In THE MARKS OF THE BEAR CLAWS the Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S. J., has given a narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi which is full of life and adventure, and which cannot fail to be dear to the heart of any boy who is lucky enough to have the opportunity of reading it.

DEAR FRIENDS, a sequel to *Althea*, by D. Ella Nordlinger, is a wholesome tale and is calculated to have a desirable influence on the minds of youthful readers. It relies too much, however, on assumed knowledge of what occurred in *Althea*, and is on that account occasionally slightly confusing.

STORIES FOR YOU AND ME, by Mother Mary Salome, is a collection of short tales for children, in which moral lessons and useful information are conveyed in a fresh, crisp, and decidedly pleasing manner.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Library Donations.—The Department of English Language and Literature received from Mr. Logan Bullitt, of Torresdale, Pa., a copy of Saxo Grammaticus' *Danmarks Krøinke* and a copy of *The Germ.*

The Departmental Library of Chemistry received from Dr. Thomas M. Chatard, of Washington, D. C., a collection of valuable scientific books and periodicals.

The new metallurgical laboratory was enriched by a gift of ores from Mr. John Ivers, of Utah.

The Rev. Thomas L. Kelley, of Indianola, Nebraska, presented to the Divinity Library a valuable set of Scripture Commentaries.

The Department of Oriental Languages and Literature received a number of valuable books and manuscripts in Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Hindustani from Reverend Joseph M. Gleason, of Tomales, California. Fr. Gleason is an alumnus of the University, and on other occasions has enriched the library with rare Oriental works gathered by him in his travels through the Far East.

Metallurgical Laboratory.—A Laboratory newly equipped with furnaces, and other apparatus for the investigation of ores and minerals will be opened in the Department of Chemistry, February 1st.

Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Theology was celebrated on Monday, January the twenty-fifth, by a solemn Pontifical Mass in the Chapel of Caldwell Hall, at which Right Reverend Owen B. Corrigan, titular Bishop of Macra, was celebrant. The sermon was preached by Right Reverend Monsignor James F. Loughlin, of Philadelphia.

Albert College.—The Athletic Association held its third annual reception and dance Wednesday evening, January twentieth, at Rauscher's. The hall was decorated in pennants of various Uni-

versities and Washington Schools. The reception commenced at nine o'clock and afterwards dancing was engaged in. A buffet luncheon was served in the dining room at 11 o'clock. About one hundred and seventy-five guests were present, including members of the faculty, students and friends of the University. In all it was a most delightful affair, and its brilliant success characterized it as the social event of the year, and one long to be remembered in our University circles.

The patronesses were: Mrs. George M. Bolling, Mrs. Thomas H. Carter, Mrs. Richard Croker, Jr., Mrs. William H. DeLacy, Miss Kerby, Mrs. Patrick J. Lennox, Mrs. Charles H. McCarthy, Mrs. Fletcher Maddox, Mrs. Jerome Elmer Murphy, Mrs. Charles P. Neill, Mrs. R. A. Pescia, Mrs. John J. Walsh.

The committee in charge of affairs was: Arthur B. Crotty, chairman; George A. Canale, Joseph E. Kennedy, James Ivers, Jr., and Peter M. Nicrosi.

The entertainment committee was composed of the following men: Robert J. Ballard, Richard S. Burke, John J. Cantwell, Louis A. Crook, Oswald M. Crotty, John J. Daly, Charles A. Darr, J. Rolanrd Devries, Donald Gallagher, Francis M. Kelley, John P. Kenny, Mariano Lora, Frank W. Madigan, Frank A. Mulvanity, Martin J. Quigley, Edward J. Ralph, Diego Ramos, Bernard J. Vincent.